NATIONAL SUICIDE

ITS PREVENTION.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Chap. ..... Copyright No. .....

Shelf HB171.7

L95

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

JUN 26 1866

NATIONAL SUICIDE

AND ITS

PREVENTION.

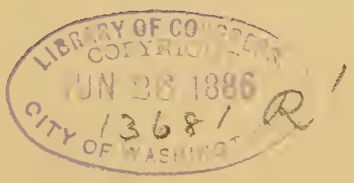
BY

OSCAR F. LUMRY, PH. D.,

FOR THIRTY-ONE YEARS PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT LANGUAGES IN WHEATON COLLEGE.

25.4
5004

"Righteousness exalteth a nation but sin is a reproach to any people."



CHICAGO:
GEORGE F. CRAM.
1886.

HB171.7
.L95

"But if they will not obey, I will utterly pluck up and destroy that nation, saith the Lord."

—JEREMIAH.

COPYRIGHTED, 1886, BY OSCAR F. LUMRY.

POLITICO ECONOMIC TREE.

PREFACE.

In the midst of the arduous labors of the teacher's profession, the chapters of this book have been written piecemeal.

This circumstance, and the fact that all except five chapters were written as articles for the *American*, a newspaper published in the nation's capital, will account for the repetition of some statements that seemed necessary to a proper understanding of the several subjects.

Hoping that it will help somewhat to rouse a spirit of investigation into subjects of very great importance to the American people, this little volume is sent forth upon its mission.

OSCAR F. LUMRY.

WHEATON COLLEGE, May 19, 1886.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER.		
I.	Introduction	7
II.	Measure or standard of value	14
III.	Specie base	34
IV.	What is honest money	43
V.	Our national banks	52
VI.	How panics are or may be made	61
VII.	How panics are mended	70
VIII.	Paper money	80
IX.	Legislation against the poor	85
X.	Repudiation	97
XI.	How Wall street manipulated the United States Treasury in its own interest	114
XII.	Blind leaders of the blind	123
XIII.	Usury	135
XIV.	Endowment	167
XV.	Land tenure	177
XVI.	Railroads and other monopolies	189
XVII.	The tramp	198
XVIII.	Poverty, irreligion, immorality drunkenness and crime	201
XIX.	When is money plenty	208
XX.	Conclusion	215

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

As an educator of American youth, who from the exigencies of his situation has had to give careful attention to some of the questions that concern men in their social and civil relations, I feel in duty bound to leave to my children, my pupils, my fellow Christians, and the world, some facts that I have gathered and some views based upon them, which in my humble judgment are material to the well being of all. I covet for them, not unquestioned acceptance, but the most searching and careful criticism. However things may seem, the real interests of no man can be promoted by error.

The despot who has fastened a chain to the neck of his fellow, has seen the other end of the same chain, by some mysterious power, clasped to his own neck, and dragging himself and his own down to the level of the victims of his greed for pelf or power. God is a God of justice, and in

the outcome will see that justice prevails. If professed Christians wish to stand in that day, they must see to it that they too are on the side of justice. A glance at human affairs will reveal the fact that in our legislation and the administration of our laws, justice is very seldom considered at all. In theory, our legislators represent the people, but in fact, they have come to represent great moneyed interests whose only care for the people is to fleece them as closely as possible. It is the old story of the innocent sheep asking the wolves to protect them.

As the papacy governs and impoverishes the masses of that communion by teaching them that they are not able to understand the great questions that pertain to the other life, so the priests of Mammon, in this once free country, by means of the press which they control, and an annual Congress whose grave utterances are supposed to contain the concentrated wisdom of ages on the subject of money, have taught and are teaching the masses that they cannot understand such questions. They teach that the men, who, refusing to obey God's command to earn their bread in the sweat of their brows, know how to transfer the earnings of the laborer to their own coffers by means of usury, bonds and mortgages and the tricks of the money changers, by which they make the currency that must transfer all commodities at one time plenty, and scarce at another, and thus

determine what share of his own earnings the producer shall have, and what they will take for themselves, are the only men who are competent to direct and conduct the financial affairs of the nation.

These gentlemen are the descendants in line direct of those whom the Saviour drove out of God's temple, calling their place of business a den of thieves. They have not only re-entered God's house and given law to His church and ministers as they did then, but have entered the temple of liberty, and usurped the very throne of her sacred majesty. Their boasted knowledge, when tested, has always proved to be merely a knowledge of how to pile up money for themselves, at other people's expense. That one of their number who was summoned before the most aristocratic political club of Boston, to refute the positions of a champion of rational finance, is a fair representative of the whole of them, so far as scientific knowledge of the principles of finance is concerned.

"The fact is," said he, "I know nothing about the philosophy of money. I know how to amass money." He was a millionaire. "I suppose it follows the law of supply and demand." I propose to look into the history made by these men's management of the country's finances, and show, if possible, why we are, where we are, socially, financially, industrially and religiously. A candid article, in a recent contemporary review, on the

condition of England's farming poor, by a clergyman of the established church, shows how in the country districts, the men who have come to inherit the green earth, God's gift to men, not to a few nobles titled or untitled, ignore and disregard the pressing wants of God's suffering poor; and how, lest their miserable huts in which they are crowded like cattle, both sexes and all ages into single living rooms, should be in the way of the chase or should remind their callous and sordid owner of his duty to their occupants, they have been removed so that the very servants necessary to keep their estates in order must find a place to live on the estates of others.

The writer then shows how, for the relief of these oppressed and robbed ones, the clergy have organized charities, and sought in every way to relieve their wants and have at last come to be regarded with suspicion by the very persons they have sought to help. The cause of this apparently strange phenomena is then given, which is simply this: They are beginning to cry for justice instead of charity, for their right to the means of living, which the very gift of existence implies. God hears the ravens. Will he not hear the cry of his own, whom accursed avarice has made poorer than ravens?

Well may England's noblest statesman say, as he did in a recent letter to a French statesman, "I cannot help thinking that Europe is marching to

a great catastrophe. The crushing weight of her military systems cannot be indefinitely supported with patience, and the population driven to despair may very possibly, before long, sweep away the personages who occupy thrones, and the pretended statesmen who govern in their names." And the venerable Bishop Peck of the M. E. church, when on the verge of the grave, the time when men grow prophetic, breaks out in language like this: "Agitation and conflict are inevitable. This is no child's play. It will be the attempt of moral principle to break down the power of untold consolidated millions of money, to challenge and defy the most enormous class interest which ever trampled upon a free people. It will be the most terrible conflict ever known upon this continent."

Why cannot our own clergy take a lesson from the experience of their English brethren? They are accustomed to get together, and among other things to discuss how to reach the laboring classes which are manifestly getting more and more beyond the reach of their influence. Manifestly when they cease to be like the Scribes and Pharisees supported by their oppressors, and become like their professed master, their friends and the defenders of their rights, the common people will hear them as they did Him, gladly.

How much influence, to draw poor laborers to trust in and love her Saviour, has the Christian wife of the merchant prince, or of the great manu-

facturer, who scatters her charities with lavish hands, whose husband to increase the store whence they are taken, cuts down the wages of his employes till the girls have to sell their virtue to dress well enough to keep their places, and the young men have to steal to do the same? Yet every great city can furnish you plenty of such examples.

Recent statistics of fifty-six leading kinds of business in New York, show that the pay of laborers is on an average $1.25 per day, while that of the employers is $20. Now notice, this was the pay while actually at work, and large numbers can only get work part of the time; that it is the average pay, and skilled laborers get several times that amount, common laborers having to take proportionately less; that the mere pittance received by the common laborer must support not only himself and those dependent on him while he labors, but when he cannot get labor to do, when he or his are sick or out of employment, must pay enormous rents for miserable quarters to live in and heavy prices for necessities—the result of monopoly.

In view of such facts, shame on the Christian minister or professed reformer that can pervert the scripture by quoting in justification of such monstrous oppression the words of the Master when he said, "the poor ye have always with you," or can say the laborer would be well enough off if

he would let whiskey and tobacco alone. Doubtless many could live in comfort but for these, yet the fact is, "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." But the greatest cause of human oppression, and not the only, but the mightiest and most far reaching, and yet from its slow and hidden working the one entirely unobserved by the mass of men, and known only to those who make the subject one of careful and prolonged study, (whether for the purpose of science, or to take advantage of their knowledge to enrich themselves at the expense of others,) is the manipulation of the currency, making its column at one time high and at another time low. It makes no difference whether this is done by law or by hoarding and thus diminishing the amount in circulation.

In these articles I shall have no quarrel with men. All that the men engaged in many human callings know about them is that the law allows them, and that they can make money by them. I do not assume to sit in judgement upon the men; to their own master they must stand or fall, I shall deal only with principles which I shall aim to apply to the acts of men. If any of the statements of this article seem erroneous, please reserve judgment until the evidence is all in. To clear up some questions which befog the public mind, before entering upon the discussion of the main questions, I shall try to explain some much abused terms and phrases.

CHAPTER II.

MEASURE OR STANDARD OF VALUE.

No more deceptive or misleading phrases than the above have found their way into the science of political economy. In the sense in which it is commonly understood, there is no such thing as a measure of value. At the time of the transfer of value there is no such process as measuring it in any sense similar to the measurement that takes place in the case of articles that have length and weight. The value has been previously not measured but estimated or calculated in the units of some currency established by law.

In the last analysis the law determines all other measures just as really as that of value. You may dispute the measure or weight of the merchant and his yard stick or weights will not settle the case. No material in nature that has length or weight will do it. Nothing will do it but the law; —but the law is abstract in its nature, and in these two measures must have some material substance to represent it, and make its application possible, but it is entirely immaterial what that substance is, so that it has in the one measure—length; and in the other—weight.

The statement, found in the books, that it takes length to measure length and weight to measure weight, and therefore value, and by that they mean some material substance that has value—to measure value, needs only, to show its falacy, to be supplemented by that other measure that would in a similar way, require us to say that it takes content to measure content, which they generally manage to forget. It only takes a basket of a given capacity that has been fixed by law, to measure a bushel of turnips, not another bushel of turnips or of anything else of like nature.

The every day experience of mankind contradicts the statement of Dr Gregory, that as in an exchange money takes the place of one of the commodities, "it must be a commodity." His own statement discredits the same where he admits that 95 per cent. of the exchanges in New York are made without any money, and it becomes still less credible when you discover that less than two per cent. of the remaining five, and in times of suspension of specie payment, none of them are made with money that is a commodity. Unlike length and weight, value belongs to things material and things not material, and any of the things to which it belongs, as in the case of the other measures usually named, may measure it.

Value is of two kinds. One is the result of nature's law coupled with the labor and conventional arrangements of men, and the other is

purely legal. One of these is just as real a value as the other, else is the man cheated who has parted with gold or a farm, or anything else that has value, and has received instead a note or mortgage or greenback. A note of hand or mortgage does not have to be of the same kind as the gold or the farm for which it is exchanged to have value, and its value is not simply the value of the paper on which it is drawn, but is just as great as that of the number of gold dollars for which it calls, or, if the dollars be not paid, the farm which it covers and will take. Nay, it may be much greater than the farm, for though the number of dollars may not be increased, except by interest, their value may be and very often is largely increased and the value of the farm proportionately or it may be in a much greater degree lessened.

The whole value of the note or mortgage is given by the law that underlies them. If the law has such marvelous power that it can endow a piece of paper in the hands of a usurer with the power to represent his ducats or his farm, and draw interest on the same, can it not endow another piece of paper in the hands of the laborer or merchant with the power to transfer his property or pay his debts,—the two simple powers of money? It is idle to say that the piece of paper in the one case has value because the law is behind it, but has not in the other when the same power is behind that. Neither is it the dictate of reason to covet and

pile up the one class of papers to increase one's riches, and distrust and destroy the other because some knave who wants to cheat the masses for his own advantage, or donkey, who does not know any better, has whispered "fiat" in one's ears.

In the case of one of these kinds of paper the property of one legal individual is obligated,—in the other the property and authority of the nation. Bear in mind that in every case the real measure is in the law and not in the material used;—that measuring, or rather computing value, is a different thing from transferring values;—that commodity value is not necessary to a common medium since other than material things have value, and, as in the case of the other measures may measure value, and that most exchanges, and in times of the suspension of specie payments, all of them, are made without the use of anything that has commodity value.

As the law fixes the standard of value—that is, the volume of currency—and may take for that purpose anything that has value, so law determines absolutely the common medium that not only may but must transfer all values in the absence of a transfer of credits or barter of commodities. This common medium must have value or it is a cheat—but this value may be either natural, or as it is called intrinsic, or legal. In either case, its value, or rather office as money, is that of a substitute, and is purely legal.

The eminent English bankers, Baring brothers, are responsible for the statement that after England demonetized gold in India, 20,000 pounds of that metal had not the power to command a single shilling in money.—What took away the money power of gold? Law. What gave that power in the first place? Law. Who then is so blind as not to see that the money power was in the law, not in the gold? The conclusion to which we are driven by the facts in the case is this:—Law chooses some one or more of the things that have value either material or legal, and men estimate or calculate the value of all other things in the units of this one. Law transfers values by means of anything it has chosen to use as a substitute for material or other values.

Money value and commodity value are entirely distinct. They may, but ought not to, both exist in the same material, since commodity value interferes with and often greatly damages money value, which, from the power which it alone possesses of forcing all contracts, paying all debts and transferring all commodities, and canceling all money obligations of whatever sort, is almost infinitely more important and the injury done it is often irreparable, and, as many of the ablest thinkers from Aristole down to the present time have taught, and as I shall try to prove both by reason and experience, is entirely needless.

The inch and the pound, the units of weight and measure, are invariable, without which quality they would be worthless as measures. They measure at all times and for all persons in the same way, and hence measure justly, but will anybody, capable of thinking at all, claim the same for gold or silver? Why not, if either or both of them are proper measures or standards of value? Let us inquire why this difference. It lies simply in the quantity in proportion to the needs for it, of the material used by which to apply the law, which is in every case the standard.

The quantity of the material out of which yard sticks or pound weights or pint cups are made is a matter of no consequence whatever, but if the law chooses one material, as gold or silver, and gives it the sole power of money, the quantity of that material becomes a matter of the very last importance. To become satisfied of this, one has only to read the special pleading of the champions of gold, to prove in the face of the world's history to the contrary, that the quantity of that material is sufficient for the money of the world. And that, too, when they cannot help knowing that its quantity in any one country is entirely contingent on the varying natural yield of its mines;—on the needs for it in other countries;—the need for other things in that one country;—the continuance of confidence in that one country, and some-

times in other countries, and the will to make or refrain from making corners in it by gold gamblers.

When, in any country, from any cause, confidence fails and money is needed most, being a valuable and a very portable commodity, gold is hoarded or flees to other countries, thus destroying the currency of the country, of which it is the whole or the base, and with it the values of everything, except debts and fixed obligations, the proportional value of which it greatly enhances. In speaking of the effects of the contraction of the currency in England, in 1821, to return to specie payments after twenty years of great prosperity during the suspension of the same, Alison, in his history of Europe, says:

"It is within bounds to say that the whole loss was above $500,000,000. * * * It was brought about solely by one cause—the drain of specie. The want of one species of property, but which under our monetary laws, like air to the individual, is indispensable to national life. And it might have been entirely avoided, had the monetary laws permitted the issuing of another species of property to sustain the currency when the one on which all depended was withdrawn; and had the issue of £8,000,000 of bank notes by the bank, with no gold to pay them, which arrested the panic when at its height, been permitted by the law at an earlier period, so as to prevent it."

No amount of currency is enough for a country that is not sufficient to readily pay all money obligations and transfer all commodities that are at any one time for sale, without reducing prices so as to injure the producer or the debtor. In every permanently prosperous country the amount of the money must increase in proportion to the increase of population and the increased needs for it from other sources. If at any time it falls below this, not always immediately but with unerring certainty, the distress of both the above classes begins and continues with ever increasing intensity, until it is relieved either by an increased supply of specie, or oftener by a liberal issue of paper not based on specie, or by a greatly lessened amount of business or property for whose transfer it is needed.

Gold and silver, from their limited and uncertain supply, never have constituted and never can constitute such currency in whole or in part, unless their place, when they fail, be supplied as a substitute for, not as a representative of them. It is agreed by all great writers on the subject, that the price of all kinds of property and service is fixed by the amount or volume of currency. No imaginary measure or standard measures the value, but the volume of the whole currency of a country fixes the price of each commodity for that country, except in case of commodities sold abroad.

Gold and silver, between nations, are the commodities in which balances of trade are paid. Hence, their price for each country is often not fixed by its own, but by the currency of the country of which it is the debtor. A money of the nations is impossible and undesirable in the present state of the world. Even a small decrease in the amount of a currency often makes a very large decrease in the valuation of property and labor, and while enabling the creditor to take what he chooses, ruins the debtor and the laborer.

If this be so, and facts are abundant to prove it, where is the common sense in the toiling millions of this country who must bear all its burdens, listening to the unasked advice of the creditor class who would forever enslave them by, instead of increasing, as they ought, the amount of money, striking out of existence all the paper money,—national bank bills are not money,—and then destroying the silver which is near one-half the balance. When have this class proposed money measures that were not intended to increase their gains? With one terrible *fiat* they would sweep out of the country more than half its debt-paying money, and then have the cheek to throw dust in people's eyes by laughing at *fiat* money. Surely if *fiat* can thus sweepingly destroy money, it must be competent to the task of making it.

The working of the vicious system, for which

these men contend, has in England, the country from which they get their ideas of finance, in fifty years lessened the number of real property holders from 150,000 to 50,000 and the process has continued until now 30,000 Englishmen can turn all the other millions into the streets and starve them to death for all of any right they have in the earth that God gave to men.

Please remember in conclusion:

1st. There is no measure of value in the sense of other measurements.

2d. If there were any, gold or silver or both from their nature cannot justly measure value.

3d. In all measurements the law, not the material substance, is the standard.

4th. So far as there is any measure of value, the quantity of currency is such measure since it alone fixes the price of all commodities or services.

Quantity of currency, while fixing the price of all commodities and services, determines the value of money itself. John Stuart Mill says, "We have seen, even in the case of metallic currency, the immediate agency determining its value is its quantity. If the quantity could be arbitrarily fixed by authority, the value would depend upon the fiat of the authority and not on the cost of production."

Adam Smith says, "By properly limiting the supply of paper declared to be legal tender, its value may be sustained upon par with gold or any

other commodity." Ricardo says of paper money "though it has no intrinsic value yet by limiting its quantity, its value in exchange is as great as an equal quantity of coin."

Prof. McCulloch says of money of whatever material made, "it is yet possible by sufficiently limiting its quantity to raise its value in exchange to any conceivable extent."

The first $70,000,000 greenbacks called demand notes, because they were full legal tender, were always at a premium above gold, and the rest of the greenbacks as soon as their disability was partially taken off by the order of the secretary to receive them in payment of duties, leaped from, I believe, ten per cent. discount to a small premium above gold where they have remained ever since, paying hundreds of millions of gold obligations at the urgent request of the holders.

The fiat paper money of England from 1789 to 1823 according to Mill did not depreciate during the twenty years of its existence. For six hundred years the money of the bank of Venice which was on the same principle did not depreciate, but went as high as thirty per cent. above gold in free competition with that metal, and during the whole time there were no money panics.

I have purposely given, mainly, English authorities, and those the very highest, not because we have not plenty of others to the same effect, but because the would be economists who

hold contrary views get them mainly from English sources.

There is no standard of value; and if there were, gold or silver cannot be permanent and therefore just measures or standards of value. John Sherman says, "There are times under any system of convertible currency when it is impossible to maintain actual coin convertibility."

John A. Logan says, "During the war we were forced to abandon our metallic standard of value and adopt a paper one."

The U. S. Supreme Court says in 12 Wallace Page 553, "It is said there can be no uniform standard of weights without weight, or of measure without length or space, and we are asked how there can be any uniform standard of value which has itself no value * * * It is hardly correct to speak of a standard of value."

A standard that in times of greatest need breaks down, is evidently no standard.

A paper, full legal tender currency, as we have seen by the authority of the highest names in political science and from experience, may be so guarded as not to fluctuate, and hence be a just and uniform standard so far as there is any standard; but a commodity currency must fluctuate, and hence be an unjust standard.

The important thing in the currency of a country, is that it be something the quantity of which is subject to the control of that country. If it

choose gold or any other commodity, if there were no other country that wanted the same, it would be easy to keep a uniform amount in circulation and it would be "honest money."

When the material chosen is one for which all nations are striving, and one which is free to follow the law of its being which requires it to go where there is the greatest demand for it, and which, when confidence fails, is sure to be hoarded from its great commodity value, the country's currency of which it is the whole or part must be subject to frequent and violent fluctuations and that country's commerce and labor must be subject to the ruin which such fluctuations always cause.

Prices are fixed by the volume of currency. James Stuart says, "that money is nothing more than a scale of equal parts for the measurement of things vendible. * * * The unit of measure has no invariable proportion to any part of value." In "Walker's Science of Wealth," on the 191st page, is a table showing the average price of ten products in New York market, with the average volume of currency for twenty-six years (1834—1859.)

If we keep in mind the fact that it usually takes some months after a change of volume of currency for the resulting change in price to appear, we will see how perfectly, where some other cause does not counteract, the price follows the volume

of currency. In 1836, when the amount of currency was the highest, being $16.73 *per capita*, mess pork was $22.50 per barrel. As the amount of currency sank, pork sank, till in 1843 when the currency was the lowest, being $6.18 *per capita*, it was $6.90 per barrel. The lowest price was reached the next year when the currency was $8.34 *per capita*, and pork was $6.28 per barrel. Molasses, muscovado, were 39¼ cents in 1836 and in 1843 they had fallen off to 21½ cents per gallon. Wool, common in 1836 was 43½ cents, in 1843 20½ cents, and thus on through the list.

What was the effect of this on the producer? Evidently bankruptcy, especially if he had any debts which alone would not shrink with the loss of values in his products. Who gained by it? Evidently, then as always, the men whose wicked money schemes were the cause of all the ruin.

As a result of all the ruinous acts of Parliament requiring the resumption of specie payments after 1820, the bank note circulation of England, according to Horn Tooke on prices as given in "Allison's Europe," shrunk from £48,278,070 in 1818 to $26,588,600 in 1822. In the same time wheat sank from 80s. 8d. per quarter to 38s. 11d. Cotton from 2s. od. per pound to 1s. Wool per pound, from 6s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. and all other things, except debts and fixed salaries, in the same proportion. The suffering was terrible, and then, as always in such cases, the loss fell mainly upon

the poor and sinned against part of the community, the whole amount of which, as Alison says, was not less than $500,000,000.

In view of such undoubted facts it is folly for anyone to assert that the volume of currency does not fix prices, and that violently shrinking prices do not bring ruin to the commercial and laboring classes.

Of what avail is the protection of a tariff to the laboring man against the ruin of a contraction of the currency?

Alison tells us that the great English manufacturers favored the contraction of the currency in order to bring down the wages of the laborer.

That prince of errorists in Political Economy, as in religion, Bob Ingersol, says truly that a gold currency is a refined system of barter. But barter belongs to the savage state of society, and the people who should adopt it as their only means of effecting exchanges, would certainly land, if they did not begin, in that primitive condition. Only once, when the world's sovereignty hung in the balance between Rome and Carthage during the second Punic war, did Rome after the adoption of gold and silver as money, resort to an inconvertible paper currency and the result made her indisputable mistress of the world.

Her subsequent adherence to a specie currency, as is now well known to all except the worshipers of the golden calf, was the means of her final destruction.

Her $1,900,000,000 specie in the time of Augustus had shrunk to $400,000,000 in the times of the Antonines and the *aureus* which in the times of the Antonines weighed sixty-eight grains, in the fifth century weighed eighteen grains though it was only taken for debts and taxes at its original value.

So prodigious a contraction of the currency without any diminution in the number of transactions or lessening of the amount of debts and taxes which were all measured in the old standard, destroyed agriculture and finally caused men, as Gibbon says, to disappear from the cities so that wild beasts came back into them; reduced the masses to the verge of starvation; cut down the standing army from 600,000 to 150,000 in the times of Justinian and brought on the destruction of the empire and the long night of the dark ages.

It was not till God in his providence pushed out one man to set sail westward bearing the destinies of the race in his frail vessel, that this pall of darkness began to be lifted. In a few years the amount of specie in the Old World was quadrupled as Alison says, and a wonderful period of intellectual activity and material progress began.

The needs for money were ever increasing with increasing population, and the constant discovery of new avenues of trade and lines of manufacture. In course of no very long time the yield of the

mines began to decline, and the diminished amount of money where a constant increase was needed, began sorely to be felt, when providence again interfered to prevent a backset in the world's progress; the mines of California were discovered and the relief that had begun to be sorely needed, came.

While the world's progress has come to require vastly more money in this railway and telegraphic age, the natural supply of gold and silver is again on the decline; meanwhile as in the case of locomotion, the old stage coach has given way to the steam car, and the steam car is now beginning to yield to the electric motor, so the old cumberous system of barter, even in its refined form, is coming to be found too slow and unreliable for the highway of the world's commerce. The creditor class who have in the past reaped vastly more than their share of the world's harvest from the much too limited amount of money, are loth to lose their advantage, and have so arranged the paper that shall supplement or supplant the specie which has made them millionaires and money kings at the expense of labor, as that they can control its quality and amount in their own interest.

The plan was suggested by our then enemies, British bankers in 1862, in the following clear and plain language:

"Slavery is likely to be abolished by the war power, and chattel slavery be destroyed. This I

and my European friends are in favor of, for slavery is but the owning of labor, and carries with it the care for the laborer, while the European plan, led in by England, is capital, controlling labor by controlling wages. This can be done by controlling the money. The great debt that capitalists will see to it is made out of this war, must be used as the means to control the volume of money. To accomplish this they (the bonds) must be used as the banking basis. It will not do to allow the 'greenback' as it is called, to circulate as money any length of time, for we cannot control them. We can control the bonds and through them the bank issue." (*Hazzard's Circular.*)

Was ever a more diabolical conspiracy to enslave the poor devised among men or devils ! yet it has been carried out to the letter, with exactly the terrible results predicted. Republican laborer, look at this and then guess how much good you are likely to get from Mr. Blaine's protective policy. The great Republican party adopted this suggestion of British bankers to enable American bankers who are now a majority of Congress, to determine exactly how much you shall have for your labor, and to reduce you to the condition of a slave whose master should be under no obligation to feed him after he was worn out in his service. Do you like the arrangement, and will you still vote for the masters who are riveting the manacles to your

limbs ? You will if you support either of the old parties, for this soulless money power rules them both. You have begun to experience in the greatly reduced price of your products and your wages, reduced more than half, and the corresponding increase of the burden of your debts and taxes, some of the beauties of this new arrangement; but your present burdens are not more than a feather compared to what is in store for you when their scheme is fully completed. The silver "dollar of your daddies" is a slight obstacle in the way of gobbling up the small remnant of your possessions; and how can they rest in peace while a few of those hated "greenbacks" are stored away in their vaults as reserves, filling the place of the gold they might tuck away there to still more contract the currency and take still more off of your wages and the price of your products, and thus reduce you to a still more servile condition. Mark too what they say about the greenbacks which they say they cannot control, and which they admit stands in the way of their controlling you. It is always safe to learn wisdom from your enemies. What they want concerning you is precisely what you do not want if you are wise. Hear them. They are not fools enough to say that it is not money. They do say in effect that it is the freeman's money, while national bank bills, the swindle they have put in the place of it, they admit is the instrument of your enslavement.

We intend to make the facts still more patent to

all when we come to treat of the National Banks. Mark further their declaration that "capitalists will see to it," that "a great debt is made out of this war." They don't say that a great debt need to be made out of the war, and the figures show that but for their handiwork the war was actually paid for at its close, and if they had not interfered to enrich themselves and enslave you, less than ten years would have wiped out the debt they had unjustly heaped up and the expectations of their British friends would have failed, and you would have been freed from the burden, which they pretend has been lightened, but which they mean to make heavier and never to suffer you to lay down until you die, and leave your posterity in slavery.

A moment's reflection will convince any candid mind that in reality the national debt has, in effect, been increased, not lessened.

At the close of the war there were no tramps, and few millionares; everybody was employed at more than double present wages. Manifestly, as all agree that the debt must be paid by the labor of the country, when the laborer got $2.00 per day and constant employment, it would take less than half as many days' labor to pay the debt than now when he gets one dollar, and even less, and employment only half of the time. It is not even pretended that the debt has lessened more than half. Certainly the labor of the country has not half the power to pay it that it had in 1865.

CHAPTER III.

SPECIE BASE.

When the foundations of Rome's power and greatness were being laid, her money was discs of bronze metal bearing the impress in relief of oxen and sheep, (hence our word pecuniary) her principal wealth, which they represented and had the legal power to transfer with other commodities.

As her principal business was war and she had little foreign commerce, and exacted tribute from other nations that she conquered, the base of her currency never fell out, and from its nature could not be hoarded or sent to other nations to pay adverse balances of trade, hence she knew no money panics and her prosperity was uninterupted. Not only was this fiat currency so based as to be secure, but its quantity was uniform and adequate to her needs, having been at one time two billions in amount. Besides this, like the Jewish land system, established by God himself, her lands were a common possession in which every citizen was entitled to a share. While this state of affairs continued Roman freedom continued, and the subjects of such a government can always be depended upon to protect it and increase its power. It was an evil

day for Rome when she adopted gold and silver as a commodity currency, which has ever been the means of making the few very rich and the masses poor.

As the few became rich by cornering this commodity money, they, as did the nobles of England in later times, seized upon the lands and dispossessed the rightful occupants buying up in some cases whole provinces.

The result was the shameless luxury and attendant vice of which Horace, Juvenal, Tacitus and most of the Roman writers loudly complain.

Although she had no *Pall Mall Gazette* to reveal the nameless vices of her wealthy nobles, her poets and historians have left us abundant evidence that they were fully the equals of their English, and if the facts were known their American successors in heartless vice and cruelty.

The report of the "silver commission of the 42d Congress," page 49, graphically depicts the result of the shrinkage of this commodity currency. "Population dwindled, and commerce, arts, wealth and freedom all disappered, the people were reduced by poverty and misery to the most degraded condition of serfdom and slavery. The disintegration of society was almost complete. The conditions of society were so hard that individual selfishness was the only thing consistent with the instinct of self preservation. All public spirit, all generous emotions, all the noble aspirations of

man shriveled and disappeared *as the volume of money shrunk and as prices fell!*

History records no such disastrous transition as from the Roman Empire to the dark ages.

Various explanations have been given of the entire breaking down of the framework of society, but it was certainly coincident *with a shrinkage of the volume* of money which was also without historical parallel. The crumbling of institutions kept even step and pace with the shrinkage in the stock of money and falling prices. All other attendant circumstances than these last, occurred in other historical periods unaccompanied and unfollowed by any such mighty disasters." Not only this but the same results have always followed the same causes. Alison shows by Horne Tooke's "Tables of Prices" that a shrinkage of one fourth in the volume of currency in 1825 in England was followed by a one half fall in prices, and distress which it is painful even now to read of, the majority of real property holders losing their property. The shrinkage of our currency since 1865 to one quarter of its volume, as every one knows, has resulted in a similar fall of prices and like distress. Let the same process continue as that did for centuries, and only a few rich men of the creditor class would be left, and most of the few others still alive, would be wretched peasants and paupers sunk in superstition and vice.

What a terrible comment is this upon the

Savior's words when he said, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." With the shrinkage of money and men, Christianity and morality dwindled till its few real votaries were constrained to live in poverty and obscurity, while the priests of the great apostacy, to secure ascendency of the nominal church of Christ, winked at the vices and pandered to and shared the dissolute pleasures of the corrupt nobility. Why cannot reformers see by this that the way to destroy Christianity and temperance, and every virtue in both classes, is to make one class of men very rich and another very poor, while the way to promote these is to secure, so far as possible, the equality of human conditions?

When the life blood of commerce began to flow into the old world's veins in consequence of a vast influx of the precious metals from the new, and as a result men began to rouse themselves to a greater activity they found themselves bound hand and foot by kingcraft and priestcraft. Mind first cast off its fetters and in course of time began snapping the gyves that bound the body. When body and soul were measurably free, it was found that property too had its despot whose rule was more disastrous than that of king or priest. In their blindness men have enthroned him by law and imagined their goods secure. Always when financial gales have arisen, if they were long continued his throne has toppled and like a coward he has fled the realm and left his poor subjects to the mercy of their

enemies after being sorely depleted and ruined by the effort to hold up his sinking fortunes. When his stout-hearted but much abused subject, National Credit, has, so far as possible, repaired the loss and made it possible, foolish mortals again, mid great rejoicings, bring back and crown the renegade and traitor and say, now at length our fortunes are upon a secure foundation.

So said they in England after his restoration in 1823, and yet before three years had elapsed, half his subjects were stripped of their property and made laborers and paupers, while a few saw their coffers filled to overflowing. The same thing happened again several times before 1844, when the younger Sir Robert Peel, as he boasted, by reorganizing the Bank of England rendered his throne secure, but scarce three years saw it again reeling and his poor foolish subjects suffering untold distress. Only the suspension of Peel's act and the issue of £8,000,000 of inconvertible paper averted its inglorious fall. But for the stupid law that prevented it, Alison says, this might have been done a few months before and saved the ruin of thousands. The same thing has been repeated in England every five to seven years since and in this country about as often. No commercial country now pretends to adopt a pure commodity currency as did Rome but at the suggestion of bankers, the only class who are benefitted by it they have adopted a still worse one.

It is well known that there is not enough of the precious metals in existence to form the currency needed by two of the present great commercial nations and if there were enough they are two slow for the age of stream and electricity.

The creditor class who have so long used a commodity currency to juggle with, do not want to see this so serviceable a tool slip entirely from their fingers, so they have made it, as they say, the base of the currency which is to be when they get it to suit them, convertible paper, which is in fact not money at all, as the high authorities I have quoted, including our own Supreme Court, affirm, only their promises to pay money. By a senseless jargon of gold standard, silver standard, single standard, double standard, monometalism and bimetalism they cheat the people into believing that somehow, but how they never attempt to explain, this commodity base of a paper currency gives its value to the whole volume of currency and determines the value of all commodities. This senseless chatter which they sometimes dignify by calling it the battle of the standards, reminds me of a reputed trick of that Athenian statesman and demagog, Alcibiades, who, when he was in power and was trifling with the liberties of the people, had a favorite dog whose chief adornment was a very beautiful, curled caudal appendage. To the astonishment of everybody, one morning he made his appearance shorn of his

chief attraction. In response to inquires for an explanation, his crafty master said, "I prefer that the Athenian people busy themselves about my dog's tail rather than my public acts." The fact is, as is confessed by Mr. Thompson the president of the Chase National Bank of New York, in a circular to the recent Banker's Congress in Chicago, "Gold as money is practically unknown by the people. * * * The idea of compelling the people to carry a metallic currency is absolutely exploded."

The gold and silver of the country is mostly piled up in the Treasury and the vaults of the banks, and while so kept is no part of the active volume of the currency that fixes prices of commodities and is of no more use than as though it were yet hidden in the earth. The very idea of promising to pay from three to five dollars of paper obligations with one dollar of money in case of the currency itself, the volume of which fixes the price of commodities; and besides this promising to pay on demand about three billions of bank deposits and all public and private indebtedness, which it is estimated now equals half the value of all the property in the nation, besides all the current money transactions of the nation with the comparatively trifling amount of specie that is supposed to constitute the base of the currency is one that ought to have originated, if it did not, in the brain of a madman.

Remember that we saw from the highest authority and from experience that a full legal tender paper currency, Hugh McCulloch to the contrary notwithstanding, is money and may be so limited as not to fluctuate; that a currency, in whole or in part a commodity, must fluctuate.

Our vast amount of debt contracted when the volume of currency was three or four times as great as now, and therefore when the value of property was in many cases three or four times as great, must be paid when means of payment are only one-fourth as great as when they were contracted.

It is plain, unless the volume of money, not promises to pay money, is vastly increased, the debts can never be paid and ought not to be. They have been virtually quadrupled in amount by varying the conditions of payment since their contraction, not by any process of nature, but by an intervention of law at the instance of the persons to whom they are due.

In the light of the above facts Wendell Phillips' statement that England's specie base was fifty cents to one hundred dollars paper, and if you wanted the specie you could not get it, was far this side of the truth, and the state of our own currency is probably even worse.

The man in the scripture who built his house upon the sand was counted a fool, how much wiser is a people who build their financial house upon

the most shifting of all commodities, gold and silver? If it were true that they were always the most stable in value of all commodities, which is shown not to be the case by Secretary Fessenden, in his report after the partial demonetization of the greenbacks by Congress, when gold went up one hundred and fifty per cent. in a few days and went down again as rapidly, while other commodities showed no such variations in value, yet the fact that they must be taken out of a country's currency to pay its foreign balances of trade, or desert it to be hoarded or buried in case of loss of confidence, makes them entirely unfit for the foundation of a financial structure that can possibly stand. As well expect a house to stand whose foundation stones were constantly rolling from under it.

Abundant facts have already been given to prove the statement true, and if more were needed they are at hand.

Remember, 1st. Their departure lessens the volume of currency and causes prices to fall.

2d. Their return to a currency inflates it and causes prices to go up.

3d. That fluctuation ruins producer and trader and benefits only bankers, and sometimes even they are involved in the common ruin.

4th. That fluctuation no more pertains to a paper currency than a gold one, and need not pertain to the former at all, but is inseparable from the latter.

CHAPTER IV.

WHAT IS HONEST MONEY?

John Stuart Mill says, "an inconvertible paper made legal tender is universally admitted to be money." The United States statutes say of the greenbacks: "These notes shall be legal tender and lawful money." Adam Smith says: "Notes, not legal tender and payable on demand, are not paper money, the circumstances of convertibility does not effect paper money." "It is an essential part of the idea of money that it shall be a legal tender."—Mill.

Judge Tiffany on Constitutional Law says, "There is no such thing as gold or silver money or paper money. Money is the sovereign authority impressed on that which is capable of taking and retaining the impression. That upon which the stamp is placed is called coin, the coin may be metal, parchment or paper." The United States Supreme Court says of the Constitution: "Nor does it prescribe that the legal value shall correspond at all with the intrinsic value in the market."

The *North British Review* insists that, "Metallic money while acting as coin is identical with

paper money in respect to being destitute of intrinsic value."

Ricardo says of paper money, "Though it has no intrinsic value, yet by limiting its quantity, its value in exchange is as great as an equal quantity of coin."

Prof. McCulloch, the great Scotch political economist says, "Thus it appears that whatever may be the material of the money of a country, whether it consists of gold, silver, iron or paper, and however destitute of intrinsic value it may be, it is yet possible, by sufficiently limiting its quantity to raise its value in exchange to any conceivable extent.'

Henry Cernushi, the great French economist says, "Money is a value created by law, its basis is legal and not material. It is perhaps not easy to convince anyone that the value of metallic money is created by law. It is however the fact. It makes no difference of what material money is composed, whether it is costly or otherwise, the law of legal tender gives value to money and that value increases or diminishes in proportion as the volume (quantity) is greater or less."

Judge Tiffany who is said to be authority on Constitutional Law in all the courts, says, Chapter 12, Section (400): "The authority which coins or stamps itself upon the article can select what substance it deems suitable to receive the stamp and pass it as money and it can affix what value it

deems proper independent of intrinsic value. The value is in the stamp, not in the metal or material." Thus we see from the highest legal and scientific authorities, that in theory at least, the only unfluctuating and hence honest money is paper money. That gold itself is only fiat money.

Now let us see if the facts correspond to the theory. Sir Archibald Alison in his "History of Europe" tells us that it was by inconvertible paper currency that the Romans conquered Carthage, that Napoleon after he had baffled the armies of Europe was conquered through the means of the same kind of money issued by England after every sovereign in gold had fled the currency of the realm. That through the sole means of such notes made legal tender in the twenty years between 1797 and 1823, notwithstanding her Herculean war efforts, England doubled her property and enjoyed such prosperity as she has never known before nor since. This fiat money was legal tender and John Stuart Mill in his "Political Economy" says, "that in the twenty years it never depreciated at all and that gold only appreciated three to five per cent.

In France, during the Franco-German war, although $600,000,000 of inconvertible legal tender paper were issued through the bank of France, about as much as we issued during the rebellion, it all was kept at par with specie during the war and was only depreciated two and one-half per cent. during the pressure to get gold to pay off the

great indemnity to Germany. The French government was not guilty of the crime of depreciating her own money as ours was, the bitter fruits of which villainy we have reaped and are now reaping in the payment of billions of debt, principal and interest.

John Stuart Mill says, "in France, paper money actually means inconvertibility." Our Supreme Court has decided in accordance with all authorities and all experience, that legal tender Treasury notes (greenbacks) are money.

Jefferson says, "Bank paper must be suppressed and the circulating medium must be restored to the nation to whom it belongs." He further says of national paper based on taxes, which he recommends in their place "if obtained *in perpetuum*, it would be sufficient to always carry us through any war."

It is urged against Treasury notes that they are only issued as a war measure. Nothing can be further from the truth. They were issued many times by the colonies, and made receivable for taxes, and have been issued since the formation of the national government probably five times, to relieve a money stringency caused by desertion of the metals during peace, to once during war, and whenever issued and not damaged by over issue, as in some of the colonies, or by act of Congress, as once only during the last war, they have been at or above par for specie. But they are uncon-

stitutional. That question ought to be settled by the high authorities given, or certainly by the Supreme Court; but since there appear to be some persons not convinced, chiefly those who have a money interest in not being so, and those whose eyes they fill with dust so that they cannot see, I will give two or three of the many facts that go to establish the constitutionality of the right to print money for the people. Our first reasons are historical.

The colonies first and the states afterward did issue their notes as money, and one of the grievances of the colonists was that the mother country, jealous of their prosperity, which was phenomenal under this rational money system, sought to forbid the colonies to use it.

Before the formation of the Constitution, this right to issue their credit as money was the recognized right of the states. Under the Constitution they ceded that right, not part but the whole of it, to the general government. So that if the states ever had that right, and such is the undoubted fact, the general government must have it.

In the second place, if such power were not expressly stated, I believe it is generally conceded that any power absolutely necessary to the chief ends of government, which are the protection of the lives and property and liberty of the citizen, is implied in the Constitution.

Now a little attention to the authorities quoted and the facts of history will show that a specie or commodity currency, or one of paper professedly, (I use the term because there never was any such thing except where specie itself was demonetized, as a real specie base) based on specie, not only never has protected property, but as Wendell Phillips and Alison and hundreds of others who are competent to testify from their knowledge of the facts, say "the great lie of specie base has destroyed the commercial prosperity" of the United States and England once every six or seven years since its inception.

Alison says, "In every one of the great money crises which have occurred every five or six years during the past thirty years, from $500,000,000 to $750,000,000 have been destroyed. Is the retention of gold worth purchasing at such a price? What is the use of it, if it can only be retained by making the capitalists richer and all other classes poorer? * * * And it may safely be affirmed that if the requisite change is not made, the nation will continue to be visited every four or five years by a periodical calamity which will destroy all the fruits of former prosperity."

If then it is the duty of government to protect the property of its citizens, necessarily its powers are commensurate with its obligations. The same high authorities that testify that a specie or specie base currency must fluctuate and cause the ruin

described, say, that inconvertible paper may be so limited as not to fluctuate and hence not to destroy but to protect property values.

To the same purport is the fact attested by Mill, that it did not fluctuate when tried for twenty years, while it furnished England the means to destroy Napoleon. Further and still more convincing testimony is found in the application of the same principle in the inscribed credits of the bank of Venice, established in 1171, and destroyed only with the Republic in 1797 by Napoleon, which credits most of the time for over 600 years, were twenty per cent above gold, and so perfectly did they protect property that the country did not experience a destructive panic during the whole time. The same principle has been tried with uniformly the same result in the banks of Barcelona, Genoa, Amsterdam and Hamburg, for hundreds of years.

Besides all this, the men who raise the constitutional objection don't believe in it themselves, and don't expect or want the country to practice it. The English courts define it thus: "Money comes from monendo, stamp; as wax is not a seal without a stamp, so metal is not money without the impression of the sovereign authority."

Our highest authority on commercial law says: "The value is in the stamp, not in the metal or material." Now the government is constantly

stamping for the banks not for the people, what passes for money, and although, I believe, but two metals are mentioned in the Constitution, government has coined or printed or stamped, for the terms are synonymous in all Europe, five other metals as money more or less perfect. Now the men who raise the constitutional objection, don't object to any of these. May we not fairly infer that their evident money interest and not any regard for the Constitution, is the ground for their objections.

Our Supreme Court expressly says: "The power to issue Treasury notes is not a war power to be exercised in times of war only. But of the occasions when and the times how long it shall be exercised and in force, it is for the legislative department of the government to judge." It further says: "Another ground of power to issue Treasury notes or bills is the necessity of providing a proper currency for the country." Plato says "Money is a creation of law to effect exchanges;" so says every respectable authority and the usage of every government since. In conclusion then remember:

1st. Gold and silver are not honest money, and from their nature cannot be, unless their place when they run away is filled by inconvertible value.

2d. National bank bills are not money at all, and of course not honest money, and yet they are

what the men who cry honest money propose to and do give the people.

3d. The Treasury Note or Greenback is honest money, and that is the very reason why British bankers in "Hazzard's Circular," issued in 1862, say that it must not be allowed to circulate, and why our bankers, although it is their specie reserve are seeking to destroy it. It does not rob labor by a double interest, and when confidence fails, fail to meet its engagements to pay honest debts.

CHAPTER V.

OUR NATIONAL BANKS.

Following the policy that was suggested by the British bankers of which the elder Sir Robert Peel said to his son when he had settled it upon his country, "you have doubled my property but you have ruined your country," which in half a century lessened the number of English land holders from 220,000 to 30,000, in 1865 when prices were made by a volume of currency, (if we include the south,) some 40 dollars *per capita*, which was not too much for a prosperous country and should have been increased with increase of population rather than lessened, we entered upon the most ruinous contraction of the currency known to history.

The process of funding upon which England's most sagacious statesman, Pitt, said "if the Americans entered they would find their boasted liberties a failure," began in earnest and the people were forced by a series of acts of Congress that were in the nature of *ex post facto* laws characterized by the utmost disregard of the rights and interests of a long suffering and distressed people, to give up what in the language of the laws was lawful

money, and to receive in its place what is not money at all. I purpose to describe hereafter this legislation in the interest of money changers and against the people, designed, professedly to bring back the fiction of specie payments and furnish the base of a system of so called National Banks.

The law creating these banks was passed in 1862. It provided that the bonds of the nation might be deposited by private corporations of not less than five persons, with the comptroller of the currency, which corporation should receive the interest the same as other holders of bonds, and besides as a gratuity, except one per cent on their circulation, ninety per cent. of the face of the bonds, in bank bills to loan to the people for what they could get. This amounts to a sheer donation of this amount for the time, to men already rich. Hon. Geo. F. Talbot, himself a hard money man, says in a letter to the *Portland Argus:* "The interest unnecessarily paid by the government, ultimately by the tax payers, upon the bonds that might have been substituted by *non interest bearing notes, without inflating the currency,* and without our progress toward a specie basis being any slower or more difficult, has been more than $20,000,000 per annum since 1865."

That is in addition to the billions of property destroyed by shrinking the currency from $40 to $12 *per capita,* the people have paid, without receiving any equivalent at all, over $400,000,000

for the privilege of using their own credit as money.

Shameful as this showing is, it is the least objectionable feature of the whole scheme to swindle and enslave the wealth producers of the country.

The law provides that these banks may increase their issues to any extent they please up to ninety per cent. of all the national bonds out, and when they have by inflation caused people to embark in new enterprises and involve themselves in debt to get them homes, or for other purposes, they may suddenly draw in their issues and compel payment when prices are reduced by contraction to half what they were when the debts were contracted. Three years ago, when the extension of their charter was under discussion in Congress, they threatened if the bill providing for funding at three per cent. passed, to withdraw $200,000,000 of their issues, and create the worst panic the country ever saw. Thus did they justify the words of warning of the country's ablest statesmen.

Jefferson says: "Bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulating medium must be restored to the nation to whom it belongs."

James Madison says: "It may be necessary to ascertain the terms upon which the notes of the government shall be issued upon motives of general policy as a common medium."

Jackson says: "But if they (Congress) have

other power to regulate the currency, it was conferred to be exercised by themselves, and not to be transferred to a corporation."

John C. Calhoun says of a government currency: "Why shall it not be considered safe in its own hands, while it shall be considered safe in the hands of eight hundred private institutions scattered all over the country, and which have no other object than their own private profit?"

Thomas H. Benton says: "The government itself ceases to be independent, it ceases to be safe when the national currency is at the will of a company."

In his report to Congress in 1789 Hamilton insists that the general government has the right to furnish a national paper currency to take the place of coin.

Henry Clay said of a national bank whose whole capital was only $15,000,000: "May not the time arrive when the concentration of so vast a portion of the circulating medium of the country in the hands of any corporation will be dangerous to the liberties of our country?" The capital of our monster system is $500,000,000.

The great expounder of the constitution, Daniel Webster said: "The whole control over the standard of value and medium of payments is vested in the general government."

People who remember the times before the war have a lively recollection of the miseries of a mixed

currency. It was supposed to have from a fifth to a third of the sum in real money, called for by the face of its bills, in the bank to redeem them. It oftener had none, and the sum borrowed for the occasion of the visit of the bank examiner, was promptly returned, that it might do like service for other banks. When the present banks shall have destroyed the remnant of the greenbacks, their paper will be like the issues of the old state banks in respect to being a mixed currency. Then all there is between the present and the old system, the security of which was state and private stocks, is a ten per cent. tax on the issues of the old system, levied to protect the present system against the former one, which the banks wish repealed. Under this system prices are fixed by a currency, the base of which must go to pay foreign balances, and with the disappearance of every dollar of such base, from three to five dollars of paper must be retired if the system keeps its balance. It needs no argument to show that such a system must be subject to violent and extreme fluctuations, and must produce just what we have seen that it always has produced, great losses and wide spread ruin of all except the creditor class.

Then it is part of the currency that fixes prices, or of the measure of values, and its effect on values is similar to what would be the effect if yard sticks and pound weights were one day an inch too long or an ounce too heavy, and the next were

deficient twice that amount. It is not possible that such a currency will not work great injustice.

Then nothing ought to be permitted to help fix prices that will not in every possible case pay them. Nothing can under all circumstances pay money values but legal money. These bank bills are legal money from the banks to the government, but not from the government to the banks, nor between individuals. The banks have it in their power at any time to bankrupt the Treasury of the nation, and in emergencies that may come, ruin individuals.

Our fathers objected to the former National banks because they used their resources to influence elections. In both the former banks, I believe, the government held directorships, and so had some check on this evil tendency, besides the number of bank officers and stock holders was so small that their power was hardly worth naming beside the present system.

Under the present system we have a majority of Congress that are bank officers or stock holders, or their attorneys, who shamelessly vote to enrich themselves and impoverish their constituents. Three years ago when the extension of their charters was to come before Congress for action, two men who had been most active for the people against the blood suckers, were told that they should be defeated for re-election if it took two million dollars, and the campaign managers of both

the old parties, which are owned and run by the banks, said they had more money tendered them than they needed or could use.

The very idea of basing one kind of money upon another, is an utter absurdity. As compared with "greenbacks" or Treasury notes, the action of the government itself shows that the latter are by far the best.

The government gives no security either for its bonds or Treasury notes, but it requires the banks to give security, and makes their issues redeemable in Treasury notes. They are in reality the specie base of the bank bills, yet Henry Ward Beecher calls them a rotten currency. If they are rotten, what must be true of the currency of which they are the base? The security of the greenback is the same as that of the bond which is the security of the bank bill.

The banks in what are called redemption cities are required to keep on hand a reserve of twenty-five per cent., and the other banks fifteen per cent. against their circulation and deposits. The Eastern banks are also allowed in the slack season of the year, to keep the surplus funds of the Western banks when not needed to forward the crops, and to pay interest on them. Of course they must loan them to be able to do so.

In 1873 when their funds were needed by the Western and Southern banks, they were loaned to Wall street stock, bond and gold gamblers, to

enable them to prey upon the public credit, and the fall of Jay Cook and others had begun to destroy public confidence so that the Eastern banks could not get funds temporarily loaned to the gamblers and could not return their money to the Western banks whose customers were driven to the wall for want of funds to carry on their business and meet their obligations, general and disastrous panic was the result. These banks, whose claquers for want of logical argument, say the greenback is unconstitutional, a "rotten currency", "rag baby" and apply to it other epithets in the nature of logical fallacies, now in a time of perfect peace, for dear life, begged the Secretary of the Treasury to issue to them more of this "rotten currency" and he did issue to them $29,000,000 which, as did the issue of £8,000,000 of similar money in England in 1825, stopped the panic and saved the ungrateful banks from destruction and the country from still greater ruin and distress, thus confirming the declaration of Jefferson many times before proved true in our own and England's history that a nation's credit is its only resource in times of war and financial distress. Remember, then, in conclusion:

1st. This system robs the poor to give to the rich.

2d. It corrupts our politics.

3d. It is a menace to the prosperity and liberty of the country.

4th. It necessarily is a fluctuating and hence dishonest measure of value.

5th. Not being legal tender it is, as money, a cheat and a swindle.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW PANICS ARE OR MAY BE MADE.

Bad as is England's money system, ours is much worse. Beyond £15,000,000 which the Bank of England may issue on the national credit, it can issue no bills unless they be issued on gold deposited by individuals and kept in the bank, so that the bank cannot, as ours can, at its pleasure, inflate the currency to any amount it pleases..

When the president and directors of the Bank of England were called before the Bullion Committee to testify as to the effect of the bank's raising the rate of interest and knocking off discounts to prevent an outward flow of gold, they admitted that the result was the ruin of the commercial and laboring classes that was charged, but said they considered it necessary. The world may well ask for information they did not volunteer to give, necessary for what? Surely not for the good of the poor people who were rendered paupers by it without any fault of their own or any means of avoiding the ruin thus brought upon them.

It is said that when the Bank of England wishes to get in some of its paper that is in the hands of the people, it gets some one to start the rumor that

there is a money stringency just ahead. Of course the rumor causes the stringency, which if not arrested ripens into panic.

Our panic machine is not so clumsy an affair as that. When it desires to draw in a haul it begins silently, as the newspapers say, to strengthen its reserve. Now the good people, innocent of any knowledge of what a reserve is, suppose it must be a good thing to strengthen almost anything and are delighted with the announcement.

The law creating the national banks requires them to keep in their vaults, in the Eastern cities twenty-five per cent. and in the rest of the country fifteen per cent. of their deposits, in "lawful money," the only money that will, under all circumstances pay debts. Of course this large part of the debt paying currency is so situated that it can pay only the debts of the banks, and is no part of the actual medium of exchange.

When they wish to make a squeeze nearly three thousand national banks begin adding to this idle money, and of course contracting the volume of the currency that fixes prices and pays debts. Many more private banks of one kind or another follow their example. Here as always, "the wise man forseeth the evil and hideth himself, but the simple pass on and are punished." Every sharp visaged Shylock in the country, who tries to keep his money in easy reach, understands what that all means and begins drawing in his loans and piling

up his money to keep it secure till he can use it to buy property at one-fourth its value, a time not far ahead.

Reserves are strengthened all round and there is little money left to pay debts or sustain prices, or pay laborers.

The poor man who has been struggling to secure a shelter for his loved ones that he may call his own, and has perhaps paid all but the last payment, sees that terrible attachment, a mortgage, wrest it from his grasp and turn his family shelterless into the street.

The astute editor to whose lying sheet he has pinned his political faith, bustles about and perhaps goes to Europe, as did the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* after the panic of 1873, and turns over every stump or stone to see if he can find the hole out of which the panic crept. The poor man is dazed and don't quite understand it, but hopes that with so faithful a watch dog to guard his interests he shall at least be safe in future. Resolutely he sets himself at the heavy task of finding something to do to keep starvation from a door no longer his own, and votes on for his party blindly as before.

If our editor had asked Mr. H. W. Cannon the Comptroller of the currency, without going to Europe, he might have learned that the panic of 1873 was caused, as we have elsewhere stated, by the Eastern banks loaning the reserves of the

Western banks, allowed by law to be left in their keeping on interest, to Wall street gamblers. If he is in doubt about the cause of the panic of 1884, without the expense of a trip to Europe he can find out from the same public officer in his report for 1884, that the panic of that year had the same origin.

I think that the treacherous demonetization of silver was in part the cause of the panic of 1873. By the way, this Comptroller of the currency is a benevolent man, I suppose all public officers are, especially those connected with the U. S. Treasury. He has great sympathy for the poor banks. Last year according to his report those in Chicago only cleared, above all expenses, nine per cent. on their capital. True, the farmers and other wealth producers did not probably clear two per cent. on their capital, but then they are rich and can stand it, or at any rate, they, although the majority of voters in the country, yet have no votes in Congress and hence have no rights that anybody is bound to respect. This tender hearted public officer pities the poor banks and advises Congress to relieve their distress by giving them the one per cent. on their circulation, the only tax they now pay to the nation, and donate them instead of ninety per cent. of their capital as now, one hundred per cent. in bills to loan for all they can get. As the majority of Congressmen are bankers, or concerned in banks, they will probably

relieve the distress of this kind official by granting his request.

According to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1884, there was somewhere in the country in gold and silver.....$814,000,010

In silver certificates.....	131,556,530
Gold certificates.....	117,000,000
Fractional currency, probably mostly lost, old demand notes, &c.....	16,000,000
National Bank notes	333,559,813
Treasury notes	346,681,016

Total currency.....$1,758,797,360

The amount in the Treasury was $523,896,110.10

The reserves in 2664 National banks..$346,100,000

Suppose that the reserve of private banks which are more numerous and have more than $346,100,000 double the deposits of the national banks and private hoards together amount to the same sum, probably a small estimate. Total amount of reserves, $1,216,096,110.10.

Amount of money in circulation to pay debts and taxes, and to sustain prices, $542,901,250.10.

Considering the greatness of our territory and that we are over 50,000,000 of people, this is certainly a very small amount for our active currency.

On the 27th of October, 1883, in the city of New York, the ratio of reserves, to circulation and deposits in the national banks, was 24.5 per cent., to deposits only, 29.9 per cent., a little more than

the legal requirement. On the 11th of October, 1884, a panic year, the ratio on circulation and deposits had increased to 35.2 per cent., and on circulation only, to 36.9 per cent.

Now recall the statement and figures of Alison, where he shows that a one-fourth reduction of the English currency in 1825 was followed by a one-half reduction in prices, and suppose even a small portion of the small amount of active currency cornered as in the case of the amounts loaned to Wall street gamblers and you certainly have first-class conditions of a panic.

The figures are not at hand, but if they were, in addition to former hoards, the sums piled up in bank vaults and the national Treasury during the year of 1885, together with lessened amount of currency, withdrawals of national bank issues and other causes, they would furnish us unmistakable cause for the continued and increased hard times. If our masters, the banks, through their actuary, the Secretary of the Treasury, don't let up pretty soon they will perpetrate the folly of killing the hen that lays for them the golden eggs.

Let us for a moment turn from this painful picture to another presented to us by the director of the mint in his report of 1884.

France, a country, not so large as one of our states, and that needs, certainly less money than we, has $848,000,000 in gold, and $590,900,000 in silver, $568,727,468.85 in legal tender notes of the

bank of France. Of this vast sum there was in the bank of France, $378,877,948.35. She has then in circulation, so far as this record shows, $1,628,349,520.50, all legal tender except $57,900,000 in silver, which is partial legal tender.

If her population numbers 35,000,000, she has in circulation for every one of them, over $46.50, which is at least four times as much as we have, and is more, probably, than we had, if we include the South, when the ruinous and terrible contraction began in 1865.

The immediate cause of panics is various, but a sharp contraction of the currency is always a good preparation for them. Sometimes they have been preceded by speculation, and sometimes not, but always the speculation has been caused by convertible paper money in times of professed specie payments, and never by inconvertible paper or Treasury notes.

It would seem that the folly of attempting to provide currency, partly of paper that is not money, professedly based on gold and silver, or either one of them, made money by law, had been tried in England and this country and failed often enough to show that it is a senseless endeavor. When one thinks of the ruin and misery that it has caused, he is tempted to think that Carlyle was not far wrong when he said there were 30,000,000 Englishmen, mostly fools, and that the 50,000,000 Americans are their near relations.

History shows that while a people are possessed with the lunacy of specie base, they will not, because they dare not, provide themselves sufficient currency to make their masses prosperous.

If, at the close of the war, when every hand was employed and every heart happy, gold and silver that had been for years unseen by the masses of our people, could have been sunk in the ocean's depths, and the pernicious ideas connected with them entirely effaced from the minds of men, there is no reason in the nature of things why that happy condition might not have continued till the present, and forever.

When the people of a country are all employed and have the means of buying what they want, there will be little occasion to look for a foreign market, but if there should be even great occasion, if it occupies a vast area like ours, there will always be enough peculiar products and special manufactures which will be needed by other nations to settle foreign balances.

In spite of all the bluster about the danger of exchanges having to be made in eighty-five cent dollars, foreign exchanges are made according to the standard of the nation to whom we sell and balances are paid in commodities valued by the same standard. The peculiar effort of government is now to be sure to have the means to pay foreign balances, even if in doing so we ruin our own masses and destroy our industries so that

we shall have no means of trading at home or abroad. Remember in conclusion:

1st. That a contraction of the currency in actual circulation is a preparation for panic.

2d. That the proportionate shrinkage in the currency is much less than the shrinkage in property values.

3d. That a currency that is not in every part of it "lawful money" may greatly add to the general ruin and ought never to be tolerated.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW PANICS ARE MENDED.

If any one still doubts the destructive character of a specie or specie base currency, I will, before entering upon the discussion of the subject in hand, give a few more facts and authorities on this subject. A specie base system, in spite of a protective tariff, puts down prices and wages to compete with the pauper labor of other countries. We must produce enough cheap products to send abroad, to pay for all that we buy abroad including vast importations of luxuries for our fast increasing army of monied aristocrats or our gold and silver the base of our currency must go to pay balances and with every dollar sent abroad from $3 to $5 in paper must be retired to preserve the balance of the system.

Such a system enables a few money dealers at any time by combining to corner its base, to, in effect, double the burden of all debts and taxes and fixed salaries, and take half from the valuation of all kinds of commodities while at the same time doubling the value of money, the species of property in which they deal. If our money obligations be held abroad, as now, which should never

be allowed, it enables foreign and perhaps hostile nations, at their pleasure to wreck our industries and ruin our people by drawing out the base of our currency. This was done in 1857 when England sold $7,000,000 worth of our securities in New York and thus caused the panic and suspension of specie payments of that year.

The Iowa *State Register*, February, 1875, says: "The only *argument there is in favor of specie base* is that some stock jobber may hold the cards in his hand *when he wishes to get the property of the country at half price.*"

The Supreme Court of Iowa, in volume 16 of its reports, says of gold, "Gamblers may speculate in (corner) it, at the risk of sacrificing the financial if not the dearer interests and the life of the nation itself."

The United States Monetary Commission said: "Money is the vitalizing influence of industry, the very fiber of social organization, the protoplasm of civilization and as essential to its existence as oxygen is to animal life."

If these be words of truth and soberness, and I expect to show before I am through that they are, the wretch that can deliberately tamper with this vital breath of mankind ought to be hung higher than Haman, as he may be a thousand murderers in one.

Leaving out of the account these artificial, but intensely real dangers of such system, the natural

and necessary ones are truly appalling. If men continue to multiply and replenish the earth according to the Creator's command, and do not continue to kill one another off by wars as the Romans did, the money of the world must increase with population and new uses for the same. The vast indebtedness, public and private, now roughly estimated at $125,000,000,000, would, under this system, soon be doubled in the amount of labor it requires to pay it, as the amount of the precious metals used in the arts is probably on the increase, and loss by wear is not less than one per cent., and, when in actual circulation, not less than four or five per cent. and the world's product from its mines is again on the decrease. Double the uses of money without increasing its amount and you inevitably double its purchasing power and take at least half from the value of everything else except debts, fixed stipends and taxes

A specie base system is a robber system, and in its very nature cannot be anything else. A system based on gold alone is doubly a robber system. The only true and safe system will demonetize both and let them be, while other nations fancy them as a currency, as they are now the commodities with which foreign balances are paid. In the present state of affairs, the nation that should do so first would have very great advantage over other nations. The loss from depreciation of those metals would not be great, and would be very soon

made good by exemption from the great loss caused by the ever recurring panics, a single one of which probably destroys more value than all the gold and silver in the country, and produces besides an incalculable amount of misery, pauperism, intemperance, irreligion and crime.

We have already given what history proves to be a permanent cure for panics, a currency that can be issued sufficient in amount *per capita*, and kept uniform in quantity. We have shown by history and by reason and by authority, that a specie base currency never has been and never can be kept uniform in quantity, hence always has produced and always will produce panics.

The standard of value, so far as there is one is the whole volume of currency, and not the gold or silver in the currency or in the country. The Supreme Court says, "But value is an ideal thing. * * * The coinage acts fix its unit as a dollar; but the gold or silver thing we call a dollar is in no sense a standard of a dollar. It is a representative of it."

If the country yet has too much reverence for the metals that have so often brought ruin to the masses to demonetize them, let it so far at least as the paper part of its currency is concerned, cease the folly of attempting to base it on specie and allow it to be issued as gold and silver are, only by the goverment and all of it be full legal tender.

There can be no more propriety in a corporation issuing paper money than gold and silver.

Let the government determine how much money *per capita* is needed to make the people prosperous, including in this sum the amount allowed to be kept in banks as a reserve against their deposits. By constitutional amendment fix this as the amount of the country's money. Make it the imperative duty of some high official, if the banks begin to increase their reserves to order government disbursing officers to loan like amounts directly to the people on real estate security at a low rate of interest, so as barely to cover cost of issue and other expenses.

If it be true that the country can not transact its business without banks, they should not be banks of issue and should on no account be allowed to vary the volume of currency in actual circulation. It is to the interest of banks not of the country, to keep the volume of currency low or at least to make it low occasionally. If an attempt to decrease it on their part was sure to increase the amount in the country and they were prevented from increasing the amount in circulation by lessening their reserves, the paper money in circulation might be kept nearly free from fluctuation. To counteract the fluctuation of gold and silver—if they must still be kept as money, their place when, and as fast as they leave the country, or are hoarded, should be filled by inconvertible legal tender paper which should be retired as fast as they come back. This may be a matter of great difficulty and even

impossible to be carried out with accuracy and yet there is little doubt that in some such way panics can be avoided and the ruin and loss even of one, would pay for much trouble and considerable expense.

We will now show from history that inconvertible paper when freely issued in time of panics has stopped them and is the only thing that has ever done so.

In Walker's "Science of Wealth," on page 239 we find this: "The banks may not only escape damage but may even profit very much by a pressure, if it does not come to be a panic; for it greatly enhances the rate of interest."

"Practically mixed currency banks expand as often and as much as possible and when the reaction comes, hold on to specie payments and a high rate of interest until the bankruptcy of their debtors begins to be so alarming as to endanger their own securities. They then suspend, allow their debtors to pay up in the notes they cannot redeem in specie and thus settle the indebtedness of themselves and the public."

It is the plentiful issue of their notes that have ceased to hold out the lying promise to pay specie, that finally, after wide spread ruin and the robbery of a high rate of interest puts a stop to the money pressure, or the panic. Evidently the issue of this paper in advance of the stringency or the panic would have prevented the same, but the

banks would have failed of their golden harvest at the expense of the laboring and commercial classes. Such gains are no better than robbery.

We see by Horne Tooke's tables, as quoted by Alison, that the bank notes in circulation in England on the 28th of Feb. 1825, were £20,753,760 and the bullion in the Bank of England was £8,778,100. On Dec. 3d of the same year, on a pretence of preparation to return to specie payments, the notes in circulation had contracted to £17,477,290, and the bullion in the bank had shrunk to £2,167,000. During this terrible contraction between December, 1824 and June, 1826, cotton fell from 16 and 18½d., to 6½ and 7½d. Silk fell from 18s. and 29s. 10d. to 13s. 3d and 16s. Sugar from 41s. 5d. to 28s. 9d. Iron per ton, from £11 and £12 fell to £8 and £9, and other things in proportion.

"The bankers, on the verge of insolvency themselves, sternly refused accommodation even to their most approved customers; persons worth £100,000 could not command £100 to save themselves from ruin. 'We were,' said Mr. Huskisson, '*within twenty-four hours of barter.*' "

"The danger was got over, not by any increase in the metallic treasure of the country *but by a great issue of paper where there was no specie to sustain it.*"

At this time the Bank of England had only £1,000,000 in specie to pay £25,000,000 in notes.

The fearful distress and ruin and the consequent emigration of hundreds of thousands of England's robbed and plundered citizens, and the pauperism of thousands more, might all have been prevented, as Alison says, by the issue of £8,000,000 of inconvertible paper, that finally stopped the panic, a few months before it was issued.

What greatly agravated the trouble and added greatly to the ruin that followed, was the fact that it was the £1 and £2 notes that were retired. Far the larger amount of the money transactions of a country is in small sums. Our own hard times are without doubt partly attributable to the fact that our Secretary of the Treasury, in direct violation of the letter of the law, which was worded on purpose so as to prevent just what he is doing, is retiring one and two dollar greenbacks. The law that caused the distress in England, did not apply to Ireland and Scotland. Scotland had for over one hundred years enjoyed just what the hireling press of this country are trying to scare us with, the prospect of a pure paper legal tender currency, and had known but one trifling failure within the memory of man.

It became apparent that Parliament intended to apply the same law retiring small notes to Scotland. The calamity was averted by monster meetings of her citizens, and great petitions that were stirred up by a series of articles by Sir Walter Scott, published in a country newspaper. Scotland was

allowed to keep her small notes, and with them her prosperity almost uninteruptedly down to the present, notwithstanding her proximity to panic cursed England.

The above facts are taken from Alison, from whom we take the following:

"Thus the ruinous effects of a contraction of the circulating medium, even when most violent, may be entirely prevented, and the industry, revenue and prosperity of a country completely sustained during the utmost scarcity, or even the entire absence, of the precious metals. It was thus that the alarming crisis of 1797, which threatened to induce a national bankruptcy, was surmounted with ease, by the simple device of declaring the Bank of England notes, like the Treasury bonds in the second Punic war, a legal tender, not convertible into cash till the close of the war, and that the year 1810, when, from the demand for gold on the continent, there was not a guinea left in this country, was one of general prosperity and the greatest national efforts recorded in its annals."

As it was with England for over twenty years previous to 1825, our own country has never known greater prosperity, notwithstanding her Herculean war efforts, than she did for seven years previous to 1868, when the effects of contraction began seriously to be felt. And that, too, in spite of the fact that greenbacks, our only money that was in use among the people, were partially demonetized

at the instance of gold gamblers. Then in conclusion remember:

1st. Inconvertible paper, so far as known, is the only remedy for panics.

2d. That history shows that Jefferson was right when he said that a nation's credit was its only resource in money crises, however brought on, and if "*had in perpetuum*," and used within the limits of its need for a currency, would carry it through any emergency.

CHAPTER VIII.

PAPER MONEY.

Lord Liverpool, the chancellor of the English Exchequer, Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Channing, while advocating the destruction of the £1 and £2 notes, admit that "*people all prefer notes to coin*; for what reason it is difficult to say, but the fact undoubtedly is so." Our first issue of $60,000,000 in Demand Notes that were full legal tender, were worth a small premium above gold, when owing to the partial demonetization of the greenbacks, at the dictation of gold gamblers, one dollar in gold was worth $2.85 in greenbacks. A perfect paper dollar was worth to pay duties and interest on our debts, $2.85 in imperfect ones. Ever since the order from the Secretary of the Treasury to receive greenbacks for duties, they have been worth a little more than gold, and have at the urgent request of their holders, paid hundreds of millions of gold obligations.

It has taken the most desperate and long continued efforts of the banker class, through their humble servants, the American Congress, to get even part of the Treasury Notes out of the hands of the people. After they could speculate in it no

longer, Wall street gamblers did not want gold and it rapidly accumulated in the treasury. As convincing proof that the people don't want it; the U. S. Treasurer tells us that $60,000,000 in gold have been deposited in the treasury, for which the owners have taken, not gold certificates nor gold coin, but silver certificates, when silver in which they were payable, was, as bullion, worth twenty per cent. less than gold. Recently when the Treasurer wanted to exchange silver for gold, the banks said yes, and chose, not standard silver dollars, but subsidiary coins that were worth less than standard silver.

The English statesmen quoted previously go on to say: "Great sacrifices had already been made to effect the introduction of even a partial metallic currency in the country, and these sacrifices had been made in vain. A large supply of gold had been obtained at a great expense, and it was got only that we might see it depart, and be compelled to purchase it again at a double expense."

Well may Alison, from whose work the above extracts are taken, ask, what is the use of retaining gold at such fearful cost ?

England's greatest living statesman, Gladstone, seems to have more rational views on the subject of money. He says: "I imagine there can be no doubt among us that the great conditions of a good currency are its safety, convenience, cheapness, and I must say, for my part, I should give a

fourth condition to a perfect currency, which is that the profit of that currency ought to be the profit of the nation." None of these conditions apply perfectly either to a specie, or specie base currency. All of them as we have shown apply perfectly to a properly limited, inconvertible paper currency. Take the latter condition for example, every sum lost, of a specie currency, is a double loss of the full amount. One loss is to the individual who happens to be the loser, and the other is to the nation, which loss may be entirely irreparable. Such losses are considerable, and in course of time would materially contract our currency and lessen prices. Losses of an inconvertible paper currency may be to the country no loss, but even a gain to their full amount, and can only be a loss of the trifling sum required to replace them.

If the people do not want specie, neither do the banks themselves want it, especially silver. The New York Clearing House set itself against the authority of the nation by refusing to receive in settlement of balances what Congress, which according to the decision of the Supreme Court, has full authority to say what shall pay debts, had made full legal tender, *i. e.*, standard silver dollars. By this action they, so far as their immense transactions were concerned, contracted the currency to the extent of the silver that but for this action would have been put in circulation.

We are not advised as to the reasons for this

rebellious action, but it is fair to suppose that it was because of the great labor and considerable expense and risk that it would involve. It could not have been the twaddle about eighty cent dollars, because they did receive two kinds of dollars that had in themselves not one commodity cent, and only one had behind it as the silver dollar had, the legal tender law that according to the Supreme Court and all authorities, and the common usage of all governments, makes money.

Congress fittingly forbade the National Banks to be connected with a clearing house that nullified its enactments. The clearing house then modified its action in form, but the Secretary of the Treasury has in fact, for it was presumably the intent of the law of Congress to force clearing houses as well as other debtors, to receive silver dollars, continued the nullification by failing to offer silver in payment of clearing house balances, and has piled up the silver in the treasury while continuing to pay interest on a similar amount of indebtedness. It seems to me, one great need of these times is officers who will act for the people who pay their salaries, and not for the bank ring of which they are members. But how does this same honorable Secretary treat the people in the matter of the silver dollar. In his estimation, what is too troublesome and expensive money for the banks is good enough for the people. If he defies the spirit of a law to protect the bankers, he defies the letter

and spirit of another to force the people to load themselves down with this same expensive, inconvenient and dangerous money that is not good enough for the bankers.

In the very teeth of the law he retires the one and two dollar greenbacks, for which he admits the people are begging, to force them to take silver.

How long will a free people suffer themselves to be served in this way before they will demand that such officials be dismissed from public positions.

It is doubtless true as in the case of the retirement of the £1 and £2 notes in England, that the retiring of the one and two dollar greenbacks has helped still further to contract the currency and cause the continued and increased hard times.

While the Secretary's illegal acts stop here, in his recommendations to Congress he goes still further, and advises the retirement of the five dollar greenbacks, a measure doubtless acceptable to bankers, as it is less expensive to them to reckon by tens than by fives, but that must inevitably add greatly to the inconvenience and expense of the commercial and producing classes.

In conclusion, remember that nobody except bankers want specie.

1st. Because of inconvenience in handling it.

2d. Because of expense and danger in handling it.

3d. Commodity money belongs to the era of the stage coach and tallow candles.

CHAPTER IX.

LEGISLATION AGAINST THE POOR.

It is with feelings of sorrow, humiliation and indignation that I approach the subject in hand. If my language shall appear unduly severe, please consider it confirmation of the truth of the Scripture that declares: "Surely oppression maketh a wise man mad." When I consider the dire and terrible effects of the human selfishness that it is now my duty to unmask, I feel that I cannot pray as did David: "Gather not my soul with sinners, nor my life with bloody men, in whose hands is mischief, and their right hand is full of bribes," unless, like Israel's weeping prophet, I cry out in the name of the Lord, "Execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor lest my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evils of your doings." I am aware that such is the blinding nature of ignorance and sin that the Saviour's pleading accents in behalf of his murderers may be urged in the case of the offenders in question, but these pleas availed not to save those ancient sinners from the condign and awful punishments

that had been foretold, nor has God's "fiery indignation" against injustice, though it seemed to slumber long, ever failed to overtake the oppressor.

Our fathers, after a terrible seven years struggle, made good their right to a separate and free existence.

The colonies, unable to secure gold and silver for a currency, had issued Treasury notes, legal tender for all dues to the government. Franklin, the greatest philosopher and financier this country ever produced, in his defense of this money against the attacks of the English Board of Trade, says: "It gave new life to business, promoted greatly the settlement of new lands (by lending small sums to beginners on easy interest to be paid in installments), whereby the province has so greatly increased in inhabitants that the export from thence thither is now more than tenfold what it then was." He goes on in his complaint against England, and says the balance of trade took all the gold and silver back to the mother country as fast as it came, and it seemed hard, therefore, "to refuse them the privilege of using paper instead."

After the separation the states issued Treasury notes, and were very prosperous. Subsequent to the adoption of the present constitution a contest arose between the banker class, who wanted the people to pay them tribute in the shape of interest, and the representatives of the laboring masses, who wanted money based on the government's right

to tax all commodities, which should be legal tender for government dues, and which had always done them such good service, and as far as the record goes, had never produced a panic.

The portion of the patriots who were still imbued with English notions of finance, aided by the tories or royalists who had now come to take part in public affairs, overcame the party that had outgrown their English prejudices, and thus, where republicanism in the matter of form of government prevailed, despotism in the matter of money received its first, would that it had been its last, triumph.

Every lover of republican equality ought to join, in accordance with the advice of Franklin and Ricardo, with Wendell Phillips, in urging that the question of the currency be taken into the hands of the government, and that we "never rest till the money representing the wealth of the nation (and not of its metals) is legal tender everywhere and for all debts, thus freeing us from all rings and corners in gold. This second Declaration of Independence will make our first a reality, and not a sham."

In 1791 the first National Bank was chartered. The Secretary of the Treasury said that $10,000,000 in coin could not be collected in the country. The bank had a capital of $10,000,000, and was permitted to issue $30,000,000 of notes, which were legal tender for all government dues, which

made them better than coin; succeeding this bank which was not re-chartered, a large number of state banks sprang up.

Against these banks Mr. Jefferson, then in private life, vigorously protested, urging that Treasury notes be made the money of the country. What sort of Jeffersonian Democrats are those who now favor our National Banks? The state banks suspended in 1814, and it took two laws of Congress to force the people to exchange the Treasury notes, then issued for specie, in order that the National Bank chartered in 1816 might enjoy the monopoly of issuing the paper money for which it had paid $1,500,000 for twenty years.

The reports show that these National banks had not more than one dollar in coin to twenty dollars in notes. What made their issues as good or better than gold was the fact that they were legal tender for all dues to the nation. Previous to 1836, when the second National bank's charter expired, Jackson had notified Congress that he could not approve of its re-charter. Instead of the issues of this private corporation he urged upon Congress the duty of exercising their constitutional right to supply the people with paper money based upon the "credit and revenues of the nation," not upon specie, which is always a pretense and a fraud. This is just what Franklin, Jefferson and Madison wanted when they demanded that Treasury notes should be "bottomed upon taxes."

In 1836 Congress made certain state banks public depositories, and their notes legal tender for all government dues. A few months afterward these banks all suspended owing the government $40,000,000, for which they had nothing to pay but their worthless paper.

$100,000,000 in Treasury notes issued between 1837 and 1848 carried the country safely through the suspension and the Mexican war. These notes were worth six per cent. more than specie in Mexico, making a uniform currency, where to have carried coin would have cost one and one-half to two per cent., besides the added risk, just as bondholders now ask to be paid in the greenbacks they are seeking to destroy so Whig and Wall Street Democratic members of Congress, although they bitterly opposed these notes, preferred them in payment of their salaries to bank notes, whether they promised coin or not.

In 1846 a law was passed making gold, silver and Treasury notes equally a legal tender for all government dues. The repeal of this beneficent law at the dictation of bankers and Wall street stock and gold gamblers, in 1861, is the Pandora's box out of which was poured our national debt and countless miseries to our poor and oppressed laboring class and the country at large.

By the disastrous panic of 1857, caused, as we have shown, by our securities being owned in England, our government suffered comparatively lit-

tle because by the law of 1846 bank notes had been excluded from the Treasury.

This fact, and numberless others of the same kind, prove that Calhoun was right when he contended that money received for all debts due the United States can never be at a discuunt for coin.

In the war of 1812 the state banks undertook to supply the money needed by the government, giving seventy-five or eighty dollars of their issue for $100 in bonds at six per cent. On these extortionate and disgraceful terms the first demands for money were met, the banks pretending to pay specie. Through the exertions of Mr. Jefferson, Treasury notes were issued, most of them bearing interest. Unfortunately for the country, their denominations were too large to permit of their general use as money, so the law allowed them to be sold to the banks which drew interest on them, and issued their own notes to the government.

The banks soon suspended the pretense of specie payments, and the treasury of the country was soon filled with comparatively worthless suspended bank paper, while the banks were filledwith Treasury notes that were as good as coin.

Patriotic citizens were giving their lives for their country's cause, while unpatriotic bankers were making vast sums out of their country's distress.

In the great rebellion, at first, as we have seen,

gold, silver and Treasury notes were all equally in the treasury, the law of 1846 being still in force.

Up to this time all Treasury notes that had been issued in every time of the country's need had been legal tender for all government dues, and had been always as valuable as, and usually, from their greater convenience, a per cent. above coin.

In its great need the country again went to the banks for money and was offered, as in 1812, $80 in suspended paper for $100 in bonds at 6 per cent. Hundreds of thousands of the country's best and noblest young men were freely imperiling their lives that their country might live, realizing, as Sophocles says, that she it is that saves us, and sailing on her right side up we are prosperous and happy, but, if she upsets, our lives and fortunes are swallowed up together by the merciless billows.

But the Shylock class were not willing to risk their money without the hope of vastly increased gains.

Their offer was declined, but, as we shall see, they did not forego the opportunity to coin their ill-gotten gains out of their country's life blood and the half-paid toil of generations unborn.

The $60,000,000 of demand notes were issued, which at first not being legal tender, these patriots made war upon and sought to depreciate by not receiving them into their banks. In self defense Congress made them full legal tender, and by im-

posing a tax of ten per cent. drove the state bank issues out of existence, to make room for a national currency. With the prospect that some time, in spite of their efforts to prevent it, the national bonds will be paid, the national banks would now like to have this law repealed so that they can continue their existence, basing their issues on state and private stocks. If the people are capable of learning anything from history, they will never suffer the repetition of that wickedness.

In 1862, the Committee of Ways and Means, through its Chairman, that incorruptible patriot, old Thad. Stevens, reported a bill to provide money for carrying on the war. This was to be legal tender Treasury notes, such as the country had always issued, with this exception that, whereas, former issues had been by law, only legal tender for all government dues, these were full legal tender for all dues public and private. That is, in the language of our Supreme Court, and of all authorities, ancient and modern—Money.

This bill quickly passed the lower house. Congratulations, such as have rarely if ever greeted the passage of any act of that body, poured in upon Congress. Wall Street, however, was stirred at the propect of losing its chance to gamble in gold at the country's cost. As Mr. Stevens said, the "caverns of the bullion brokers and the saloons of the associated banks" were stirred.

Judge Martin, from whose great work on the

"Money of the Nations" many of the facts in this and former articles are taken, says: "The Money Power of Wall street was transferred to Washington. The same powers that defeated the plans of Jefferson and Madison in 1816; those of Jackson in 1829, and 1830, 1831, 1832, and in 1833; and the measures of Tyler in 1841, 1842 and 1843, now marshaled their forces again to defeat the great measures for the preservation of the Union. They found many faithful devotees in both houses of Congress. These men expressed holy horror at the idea of having the government issue money, when the government had done so at different times from 1812 to 1857; of making paper money legal tender when the notes of the two banks of the United States had been legal tender for all debts due the government for forty years; when every Treasury note that had ever been issued by the government had been legal tender for all debts due the government; and when the law of 1846, then in force, made gold, silver and Treasury notes legal tender for all debts due the nation."

That aristocratic body that has proved to be the grave of many measures calculated to benefit the people, now proved incapable of resisting the golden arguments presented by Wall street's deputation that now came down upon it 100 strong. The Senate amended the bill by inserting the words, "except duties on imports." In the contest that ensued Thad. Stevens said:

"I have a melancholy foreboding that we are about to consummate a cunningly devised scheme, which will carry great injury and great loss to all classes of people throughout the Union, except one. With my colleagues, I believe that no act of legislation of this government was ever hailed with as much delight throughout the whole length and breadth of this Union by every class of people, without any exception, as the bill which we passed and sent to the Senate. Instead of being a beneficent and invigorating measure, it is now positively mischievious. It now creates money and by its very terms declares it a depreciated currency. It makes two classes of money—one for the banks and brokers and another for the people." Seeing by the clear insight of the true statesman the miseries involved, and which we are now suffering and must, unless better counsel prevails, leave to our posterity, it is said the old patriot cried when he finally saw the villainy accomplished.

Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, said: "I venture to express the opinion that ninety-nine out of every hundred of the loyal people of the United States are for the legal tender clause." * * *

The entire business community, with scarcely a single exception—men who have trusted out in the country in commercial transaction their tens and hundreds of millions are for the bill with the legal tender clause. * * *

In my judgment if you strike out the *legal tender clause* you will have every *curbstone broker* in the country, the bulls and bears of the stock exchange, *and all that class of men who fatten on public calamity, and the wants and necessities of the people using all their influence to depreciate the credit of the government and break down the value of the demand notes.* * * * I look upon the *contest* as one *between* the curbstone brokers, the Jew brokers, the money changers and the men who speculate in stocks and bonds, and the productive toiling men of the country."

After a severe contest in which many in both houses acquitted themselves nobly, as usual the money changers prevailed.

About that time many Congressmen known to be poor became suddenly rich.

Demosthenes says he would not dare to tell the amount of money that rich men of his time offered him to induce him not to have a law enacted and put in force, compelling them to bear their just proportion of the public burdens. They even threatened his life in case he persisted in enforcing justice. He said that traitors of his time who sold out the interest of the people of Athens knew that ruin would come in consequence of their treason, but hoped that in some way during the general destruction, they and their possessions would escape. The great orator warned them that in the

allotments of providence retributive justice generally overtakes traitors first. Such has been the experience of some of the men who betrayed their constituents in this case.

CHAPTER X.

REPUDIATION.

The men who hold the bonds of the United States, the principal part of the present value of which was secured by means almost infinitely worse than ordinary theft, as the result of the infamous act just described and subsequent legislation secured by similar means, have a very great horror of repudiation. I wish to make the charge deliberately, and propose to prove it, that through their supple tools the Congress and Executive officers of the goverment, these men are the repudiators, and, in corruptly repudiating their just obligations to the people, they have destroyed thousands of millions of value of other people's property, and are before God to-day responsible for the loss of thousands of human lives of men who have died by suicide because of their losses and for much of the intemperance, poverty, crime and misery that now make every thoughful patriot tremble for his country. If the government were to-day to refuse to pay every dollar of the bonds, it would have paid them, principal and interest for every dollar of its obligations now held by them, and yet they have the cheek to ask that their

obligations, bought with greenbacks which by the infamous legislation, secured as we have seen by their efforts and money, were worth only forty or fifty cents on the dollar in that metal, be paid in gold. This would enhance the value of those obligations that are now worth twenty-four to forty or fifty per cent. premium, and considering the increased purchasing power of gold since their issue, makes the present indebtedness worth double the whole debt at first, or four times the value of the same amount of debt at the time they were first issued.

The next act in this drama of which Jno. Sherman was the father, to carry out, and complete which was the purpose of the whole, was the passage of an act in 1863 providing for a system of misnamed National Banks, of which the only thing national is the name and the fact that the nation's credit is behind their issues which are furnished by the government, the banks paying the expense of printing them; and that the government makes an outright donation, except one per cent. of ninety per cent of their capital, while they continue; all the benefits of which go to private corporations. The people were now asked to give up what was issued to them as money, having power to pay all debts except interest on bonds which then were not in existence, and duties, and on which they paid no interest, and receive in its place that which would cost them six per cent interest and which as money

was a fraud, not having the power to pay their debts at all. The Treasury note had and has to this day, this endorsement on its back: "This note shall be receivable at its face value for all debts, public and private, except interest on the public debt and customs dues."

Naturally the people understood too well their real interests to be willing to make the exchange.

To carry out the plans suggested by British bankers, the country must sell bonds for this money, and as the people who had this "lawful money" as it was styled in the law creating the National banks, did not want to invest it in bonds and pay six per cent. interest on it, they must be forced by law to do so.

Secretary Chase testifies to the fact that the people wanted the greenbacks for money, and although he had sold $10,000,000 in bonds it was found next to impossible to get the greenbacks to pay for them. Remember the assurance on their back that the greenbacks were receivable at their face value for all debts, and the same as gold and silver coin in payment for interest bearing obligations of the nation. This was the contract with the people on which they had taken them. While they still held them, and Congress was bound by this contract to the people, Wall street induced Congress to pass the law of March, 1863, which provides that legal tender Treasury notes, in spite of the express contract on their backs, shall not be

receivable for bonds after July, 1863, four months thereafter.

A more infernal act of repudiation probably does not disgrace the statute books of any nation under Heaven. By this act and the speeches made at its passage, the people were made to think that unless they speedily exchanged their Treasury notes for bonds, they would be repudiated and they would lose them altogether. This act, the baseness of which, language fails to describe, caused the Treasury notes which, despite their being crippled by the exception clause, up to this time had not fallen below two and one-half per cent. for gold, as compared with gold, now rapidly to fall in value. Secretary Fessenden says in his report for 1864: "In the course of a few days the price of this article (coin) rose from $1.50 to $2.85 in paper for $1 in specie and subsequently fell in as short a period to $1.87, and then again rose as rapidly to $2.50; and all without any assignable cause traceable to an increase or decrease of paper money. It is quite apparent that the solution of the problem may be found in the unpatriotic and criminal efforts of speculators and probably of secret enemies to raise the price of coin regardless of the injury inflicted upon the country, or desiring to inflict."

By this one act of repudiation it would not be difficult to show that the laboring people, in addition to the loss in other ways that cannot be esti-

mated, lost more actual money value than all the bonds of the government now in existence, but repudiation on the part of bondholders and bankers did not stop here, it only just began.

This monster repudiation act of 1863 provided for the issue of $900,000,000 in six per cent. bonds and to tax the old state bank issues two per cent., to force them to reorganize as National banks. That cunning schemer for the banks, John Sherman, for fear the people even yet would not be induced or frightened into giving up the Treasury notes, now seeks to take them with guile. This law provides that $400,000,000 of the $900,000,000 may be three years six per cent. notes legal tender in full. This schemer hoped that the fact that they were bearing interest and otherwise full money which the others were not, would induce the people to give up the original notes. The $500,000,000 would furnish bonds enough for the base of the National Banks and the $400,000,000 three year notes would retire the greenback so as to make room for the bank notes. "The best laid plans of mice and men gang oft aglee." The conspirators against the people's interest, the capitalists, bankers and their attorneys, were surprised to find that the people still understood their interests and held on to the Treasury notes. To meet an emergency $150,000,000 more had to be issued in Treasury notes to redeem the three year

notes, but they were to be used for no other governmental purpose.

The section of this act that demonetizes greenbacks as far as they relate to bonds, is so obscurely drawn that the common people would not understand that the design was, contrary to express contract, to prevent the Treasury notes from being received for bonds the same as coin, and that hungry Shylocks would readily understand the same.

Similar chicanery was resorted to when, at the instigation, and by the money of British bondholders silver was stealthily demonetized.

We cannot follow all the tortuous windings of the monetary legislation of Congress of this period, but it all, with slight exceptions, had a single aim, to force the people to give up the Treasury note that did not force them to pay tribute to bankers, and accept the bank note that did.

The act of March. 1863, which we shall call repudiation number one, was passed to damage the legal tender notes so that bankers might buy bonds with them at forty to fifty cents on the dollar for the *coin* which they held.

When this fell purpose had been so far accomplished as to furnish bonds enough so that John Sherman's new banking swindle might get under way, in 1865, the soldiers were to be paid off and they would have nothing but greenbacks. A law was accordingly passed repealing the clause in the

law of 1863, forbidding the Secretary to receive legal tender notes for bonds.

The design of this was not to benefit legal tender notes but to reduce their amount. McCulloch was Secretary, whose plan was to destroy all the Treasury notes, following out the policy of John Sherman as signified in his great speech in favor of National Banks and against legal tender notes. McCulloch stigmatized these notes which Congress, that had the sole power to say what should be money, had provided and which the people wanted, as "disreputable, dishonest money." Let him take care lest when the people come to understand the truth, these epithets stick closer to him than the shirt of Nessus and be more destructive to his reputation than that was to the body of its victim.

The same hand that in 1863 secured the law of 1863 which provided $50,000,000 fractional currency, the most convenient money the country ever had, and which cost nothing but the cost of making it, in 1875 secured another law substituting in its place $50,000,000 in fractional silver at an annual cost of $2,500,000 interest paid to bankers. The people did not ask for this law, did not want it. James Vick says that the first year of its operation cost him $10,000 in loss to his business. During the twelve years in which it circulated, one-third of this fractional paper was lost by the various accidents to which money is subject. Suppose now that the silver that takes its place

meets with similar losses, or loses $15,000,000 in twelve years. This added to the annual interest makes $3,750,000 to which add the loss by abrasion, to which the paper was not at all subject, which is probably for fractional currency not less than five per cent. or in all, the yearly cost is $6,500,000. Put this amount and the vast annual loss in business and money spent for express or post-office orders, that was before saved by sending fractional currency, along side of the trivial expense of the far more convenient paper, and you get some idea of the burdens these money kings are imposing, even in a matter that is relatively small, upon a patient and long suffering people.

The climax of robbery and repudiation in the legislation of Congress was reached in the act of March, 1869, the first to receive the signature of Gen. Grant, than whose administration one more beset with thieves great and small the country has, happily, never seen. The terrible civil war had ended several years before. The soldiers had been paid off and money was coming into the Treasury much faster than the bonds matured so that they could be paid, so that there was no need to strengthen the credit of the nation and to do so while the exception clause in the greenback law remained, was to enrich bondholders and impoverish the people. This infamous act and the one that I call an act of repudiation in my last, are not laws unless legislative acts in the nature of *ex*

post facto enactments impairing the validity of contracts can be laws.

The objectionable provisions of this act are:

1st. That the Treasury notes should be paid in coin.

2d. That interest bearing obligations should be paid in coin or its equivalent, except in cases where they are expressly payable in currency.

By the law authorizing them, the Treasury notes were not payable in coin, nor were they intended to be. They were redeemable just as gold and silver were in all debts due the government (with the one wicked exception in the law creating them) and in interest bearing obligations of the United States, the same as gold and silver coin, and in all money transactions between private individuals. There was no more propriety in providing to redeem them in any other way than there was in providing to redeem gold in some other way. The very idea of redeeming one kind of money in another is inconsistent with the idea of money, and while it continues to influence men, will prevent a permanent and settled money system, which is a matter of the very utmost importance to a commercial people.

What better provisions for redemption are needed in a country where every year something like $1,000,000,000 of taxes have to be paid, and principal and interest of probably $20,000,000,000 of indebtedness in addition to all public and pri-

vate transactions. Every time these convenient dollars pass from one person to another they are redeemed in all the way money ever needs to be redeemed.

As for security, the advocates of specie, which now means only professedly convertible paper, for the people, that is not money at all to pay their debts, except taxes, have nothing to say, for the Treasury note which does not add heavily to their taxes, has the same security as the bank bill that does.

The Treasury notes are styled "lawful money of the United States" in the laws creating them and in all the laws relating to National banks. They are the specie base of the National banks, being the security for their circulation and deposits. If they are not money, and require to be redeemed in some other money, we must conclude that Congress was cheating the people when it made the bank bill redeemable in them. How ridiculous to call that "lawful money" that is not money at all if it needs to be redeemed in other money ! The fact is, this was another wicked and malicious stab at the credit of the Treasury note, and as that is the credit of the nation, at the credit of the nation. Although treacherously called a credit strengthening act, it shortly after its passage depreciated the Treasury note, despite the promise to pay it in coin from twenty-five to fifty per cent.

At the time of the passage of this act, the order to receive the Treasury note for duties would have sent it to par or above for coin, as is proved by the fact that sometime before the pretended resumption of specie payments, such order from Secretary Sherman did send it above par, where it has been ever since. Such order issued five years before it was, during the most of which time gold was at but a small premium, would probably have saved more than half the debt, and not to have excluded it at all, as our fathers never did, while we used the amount of money we did, as the history of France in her struggle with Germany shows, would have saved the necessity of any debt, but it would have thwarted the plans of bankers, gold gamblers and bondholders who were seeking to carry out the advice of British bankers to make a "great debt out of the war."

The five-twenty bonds, remember, were all out in the hands of bankers and bondholders. Most of them were purchased when, owing to the exception clause, the Treasury note was worth forty or fifty cents in specie. They were purchased with Treasury notes. Even John Sherman said that they ought to be paid in the same kind of money in which they were bought. Such was his language in his speeches and in a letter to a friend quoted by Senator Beck, he says: "I think the bondholder violates his promise when he refuses to take the same kind of money he paid for the

bonds. * * * If the bondholder can legally demand only the kind of money he paid, then he is a repudiator and an extortioner to demand money more valuable than he gave."

At the time of the passage of this piratical act the Treasury note was worth, as compared with specie, twenty-five per cent. more than when he bought the bonds with it. He had received in gold interest, not required by the law and contrary to the interests of the people, much more than the whole amount he had paid for the bonds. At this time it made a difference to the people of more than $500,000,000 whether the bonds were paid in Treasury notes as the contract with the people required, or in specie.

The people had no representatives, the bankers and bondholders by themselves and their attorneys, the lawyers, had a majority.

It would be interesting to know how much of this enormous steal the bondholders divided with the lawyers. The people probably will never know till that day that shall lay open to the gaze of an astonished universe the villainies of the ages.

In addition to the evidence of Hon. Thad. Stevens, Ben. Butler, John Sherman and many members of Congress and the letter of the law itself, the fact that at the same time the five-twenties were issued, ten-forty coin bonds were issued; that the coin bonds bore five per cent. interest while the five-twenties that were payable

in Treasury notes bore six per cent. shows that the five-twenties were payable, principal and interest, in Treasury notes.

The government had no bonds to sell and no purpose or need to raise money, and there could be no pretense of benefiting the people nor anyone but the bondholders. This was another terrible thrust at the Treasury note, and at the credit of the country—being the second time it was feloniously deprived of its power to pay interest bearing obligations of the government, in express violation of the original and subsequent contracts. This act of March, 1869, which from its damage to the Treasury note and enormous gift out of the people's pockets to greedy bondholders, is entitled to be considered repudiation numbers two and three, and was only preparatory to another, which, if less expensive at the present and less manifestly an act of repudiation, was the most disgraceful bit of legislation in this whole series of legal outrages.

Declaring the bonds bought with depreciated paper payable in coin was only a preparation to selling them in England.

The Bible says the borrower is servant to the lender. England has tried to enslave us by arms and failed. In 1842, when we were out of debt, she refused to loan us $12,000,000 although asked to do so by a special agent of the government. She freely loaned money to the rebels during the late war, but refused us a single shilling. Self

respect, now that we had no need of borrowing, ought to have prevented our touching a dollar of her money.

From one to two hundred millions of surplus money was now in our Treasury. We collected five hundred millions of revenue annually and paid off one hundred millions of debt by sale of gold and purchase of bonds. None of the holders of the five-twenty bonds wished them paid, and none of them would have been payable for fifteen years. For one-half per cent. more interest than it was proposed to pay if it had been necessary to replace the loan, all the money could have been secured in this country. Becoming largely indebted to England makes us tributary to her. A large part of the present plea for the demonetization of silver and the ruin at home that would follow, arises from this unwise debt. The stealthy demonetization of silver in 1873, was instigated if not actually purchased, as is freely charged, by British bondholders. This debt gives opportunity for British bankers to intrigue in our affairs, and by their agents, liberally provided with gold, to constitute themselves a part of our corrupt legislative lobbies. It is probably the main reason for our Treasury officials defying the law and paying out gold on paper obligations, and so increasing the national debt. Being one of the nations whose currency is professedly based on gold, it was greatly to her interest to so arrange this debt as to

make it a means of constantly draining gold from this country, and of course, if we insanely hold on to a specie base currency, of taking out the base of our currency and unsettling and destroying our industries. England, France and Germany are far wiser than this. They never allow any part of their great national debts to go abroad so as to give other nations a pretext for meddling in their affairs.

As matters now stand England don't want our silver in which the bonds are still payable by the law of 1870, as they are payable in coin of the standard fineness of that date, and then silver was the standard.

Yield to the present senseless and wicked cry to demonetize silver and the value of every dollar's worth of our property will be at the mercy of England. Remember that in 1857 the sale of $7,000,000 worth of bonds in New York, for which England carried off the gold, created the panic and consequent ruin of that date. The interest on this loan sent abroad was five per cent. in specie. Placing it was to cost one-half per cent.. but actually cost three per cent. If we add the exchange on the interest, which will probably be one and two-thirds per cent., I think it will be apparent that if we had needed to borrow at all, it would have been far better to have done so at home. The design was to sell these bonds for gold, and invest the gold in five-twenty bonds in this country, but when

$21,000,000 of them had been sold and that sum placed in the Bank of England, subject to our draft, the bank informed us that the gold would not be allowed to go abroad, and that if we insisted on taking it they would break off negotiations at once. Bonds at their price in London must be exchanged for gold there.

Secretary Boutwell says we "were compelled to submit" to these disadvantageous and dishonorable terms.

We did not need England's money, and ought never to have touched a dollar of it. Will we now foolishly, by demonetizing silver, allow her to draw hundreds of millions of gold for the base of her currency, at a cost to us of many times the amount originally paid for the bonds she holds, out of our own currency already so much contracted as to allow our producing classes scarcely a decent subsistence?

Contrast with this folly of our law-makers the wisdom of our fathers.

To pay off a foreign loan made to our fathers during the Revolution, by France, Spain and Holland, friendly nations which aided us at the risk of losing all, Congress in 1795 provided a home loan, giving our people one-half per cent. more interest than was paid abroad. Small bonds were made for the purpose so that the people, not bankers and bondholders, might use them as money.

"In this way," Webster says, "Hamilton smote

the rock, and the waters gushed forth." "He touched the dead body of credit, and it sprang into life." So did not John Sherman and his compeers. They created the "dead body of credit" that with its creators, ought to be condemned by every loyal man and lover of his kind.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW WALL STREET MANIPULATED THE U. S. TREASURY IN ITS OWN INTEREST.

The exception clause was the first triumph of Wall street over the country, then in deadly conflict with the Rebellion. If the country ever comes to realize, even in a small degree, the far-reaching and dreadful consequences of this act, it will, unless more Christian than most men, feel like praying, as Demosthenes did, against the traitors of his time, that the condign and terrible punishments of the Almighty may follow the perpetrators of it (whether in Congress or out) living or dead.

At the beginning of the war, under the law of 1846, bank notes were excluded from the Treasury, but Treasury notes, as they always had been, were receivable for all government dues. The first and one of the most damnable acts of Wall street was to make the government repudiate its own notes. Wall street is now afraid the people will make it take its own medicine. If God's law against extortioners, which requires the restoration of fourfold, were enforced against Wall street, its millionaires would be poorer than the millions of wretched

tramps and paupers and criminals which its beastly selfishness has made.

The $60,000,000 demand notes, payable in coin, issued in the beginning of the war and made full legal tender, as long as they were allowed to circulate, and some few of them are still out, on the gold board, in the Treasury, everywhere there was a call for money, were at a premium above gold, because they would do everything that gold could, and were far more convenient. With the gold kept constantly in the Treasury, the government might have issued $2,000,000,000 of such notes and they would have had a larger specie base than the issues of the banks of England. English banks never have more than one dollar in specie to twenty in liabilities in deposits and circulation. As every one at all posted in such matters knows, the principal danger is in deposits, and comparatively very little in circulation. The Treasury had no deposits, and the demand notes did all that specie could do. The people preferred paper; gamblers, not being able to make anything on specie, would have passed it into the Treasury as they did after the order to receive Treasury notes for duties.

This was precisely what happened to France in her late struggle. Although she issued inconvertible paper, as we did, and about to the same amount, she did not wickedly demonetize it as we did, and the result was that at the close of the war her war debt was paid, and very soon after her in-

demnity to Germany of $1,100,000,000 was all paid, and the Bank of France, which is the government's fiscal agent, had more specie within its vaults than all the banks of England, and perhaps of all Europe.

Now let us observe how the robbery thus planned by Wall street was consummated.

The Treasury kept over $100,000,000 of gold hoarded instead of using it to protect the credit of the nation. The process of debt paying was to sell gold at a premium for legal tenders. and to invest legal tenders in bonds. The law allowing such sales was passed March 17th, 1864. Previous to this time gold had been allowed to accumulate in the Treasury. Secretary Fessenden and even McCulloch did not give notice of sales of gold and hence Wall street did not know when the blow would fall, but sales were not made wisely. The sale of $5,000,000 gold every day for a week at any time would have broken the combination of Wall street to keep up the price of gold. Several times the amount necessary to have raised the national credit to par with gold was lying idle in the Treasury, and the people were paying interest on it. At any time the order to receive the Treasury notes for duties would have had the same effect.

On what is known on Wall street as "black Friday," in 1869, the sale of $5,000,000 in gold brought the premium from sixty per cent. down to thirty per cent., half way to par.

After the days of Chase and Fessenden there was a combination between the Treasury and Wall street to increase the premium on Treasury notes to drive them out of existence, so that bank bills might fill their place. The act of June 17th, 1869, was intended to prevent gold gambling. It provided that neither gold nor sterling exchange should be sold for future delivery.

Wall street could not stand that; its occupation of gambling in gold at the expense of the nation would be gone. Again it went to Washington, "terrible as an army with banners." A subservient Congress again speedily obeyed, and this beneficent law in behalf of the country lived just fifteen days.

The beginning of Gen. Grant's administration was not only marked by the passage of the infamous so-called "credit-strengthening" act, but it ushered in a new administration of the Treasury that will be forever infamous in the eyes of honest men who know what it was.

Congress was induced to allow notice to be given of government sales of gold and purchase of bonds. Now Wall street was relieved of the trouble and loss that sudden sales of gold had given it. On the day that the government sold gold that commodity always ruled low, and instead of gold falling after the sales it always went up, and the street realized a handsome profit at the government's expense.

When the government gave notice that it would buy bonds, the price of bonds was pushed up to the highest possible figure; after the government's purchase of bonds they went down. Thus the government became the most profitable customer of a set of conscienceless gamblers. Thus vast private fortunes were made at the public expense. It would be interesting to know what high government officials shared these accursed gains.

It is not possible to explain such acts on any other ground. Ordinary business men, and these were certainly equal in business sense to ordinary business men, never do such things in the management of their own affairs.

It became known that the Treasury did not purpose to sell gold during the month of September, 1869. There was no special demand for gold, yet it went up day after day till it reached sixty per cent. premium. The sale of even a small amount of gold would have stopped this rise, as is shown by the fact that when finally $5,000,000 were sold, in one hour the premium went down to thirty per cent., and a small amount more sold would evidently have carried it down to par.

About one year after the first repudiation act in 1863, an act was passed in March, 1864, allowing the Secretary to prepay the interest on bonds. The government was paying its soldiers thirteen dollars per month in greenbacks that had been depreciated by the exception clause to less than forty

cents on the dollar in gold. It would not listen to the request of its soldiers, its commercial and producing classes, to make the Treasury note, the freeman's money, receivable for duties, which would have sent it above par in one hour, and would have saved the necessity of issuing any more bonds. But in its eagerness to sell bonds for the base of the national bank issues, it authorized the interest which was paid in gold at six per cent. semi-annually, to be paid one year in advance, which in greenbacks, at the rate gold was then selling, amounted to about twenty per cent. From year to year, instead of using gold to lessen the discount on notes, it was then used to prepay interest, and thus rapidly to increase the debt. This interest was immediately invested in Treasury notes; so, while Treasury notes were at two dollars and eighty cents for one dollar in gold, bondholders doubled their money every two years in greenbacks. Investing these greenbacks in bonds, they are now, by the demonetization of silver and Treasury notes, seeking to make the bonds payable only in gold, which, owing to the contraction of the currency which they have brought about, is now worth more than four times as much as gold was when they bought the bonds in greenbacks at forty cents on the dollar in gold. In other words, they are now after the destruction of billions of other people's property by their selfish schemes, asking the people to pay and seeking by all means, fair

and foul, to force the payment of their bonds, not in the same kind of money in which they bought them, but in a kind of money at least five times as valuable as that was then, after receiving many times their real value in interest. It is evident that these men are seeking to bring about a time when the debt of the country can never be paid, when the laboring classes shall be their perpetual bondmen, and they, as the Hazard circular intimates, not responsible to keep them when they are worn out in their service. Unless the volume of active currency is quadrupled as it ought to be, and the increase loaned or paid out to the people and not given to the banks that time has already come. It will take more than the whole of the currency in the country to pay the interest on all the debts of the country every year, and when paid in to the usurer there is no way to get it out again except by borrowing, so that to keep the money in circulation the country must be kept in such a condition that an ever increasing number of men must borrow.

Ye men of boundless greed, can ye not see that the end of this road must be repudiation, and ye that have repudiated every obligation to the laboring man, are the repudiators. As Demosthenes says, he that sows the seed is responsible for the crop. Having sown repudiation, it is only meet that you should reap repudiation.

There are no occupations now that are perfectly

sure to be profitable but office-holding and banking.

Much of the vast amount of money held in bank and loaned, has no chance to get into circulation and perform the office for which money was designed, that is, to effect exchanges, but is set on an eternal round passing from the usurers till to the pockets of his victims only to go back to the usurers till in payment of principal or interest. It is not necessary to suppose and we do not charge that all the men who have been parties to this terrible injustice which we have described, were conscious thieves.

Men have never yet been able to see justice through a silver or gold dollar. That the party leaders who forced the measures through Congress, and public officials who were the ready tools of bondholders and stock and gold gamblers, did know what they were doing and are doing today, I have no doubt. Their names ought to be, and will at some time be, written on the same blacklist on which appears that of Aaron Burr and Benedict Arnold. No honest man ever made a large fortune out of his country's service.

When a large part of the appropriations for public buildings is paid for stone for embelishment, that is shipped all over the country at vast expense, from quarries, of which the chairman of the Committe on Public Buildings is a silent partner, or a palace is built by an honorable secretary,

the bills for which are unaccountably mixed with the public's accounts; when men who have sought office, ostensibly to serve the people, but in reality to serve collossal railroad or banking or other monopolies, utter their fiery phillipics against the oppressor of the poor colored man, or their flaming zeal in favor of protection to the poor laborer, in the minds of honest men, their words will pass for nothing more than the well-known dodge of "stop, thief."

CHAPTER XII.

BLIND LEADERS OF THE BLIND.

Great crimes have always seemed incredible to the mass of men, and sometimes the greater the crime the more perfectly does it escape notice. Cicero's greatest difficulty in defeating the conspiracy of Cataline was to make honest Romans see that there was any conspiracy at all. That one of her consuls; that some of her chief nobles; that many grave and reverend senators; that men in high official positions; that what were supposed to be honorable men of every rank and calling should join a conspiracy to kill Rome's principal citizens, to set fire in twelve places to the eternal city, her capital, to turn her slaves loose upon their masters, to free her usury-cursed masses from their oppressors, did not seem possible till the arch traitor, confronted with the proof that, through the diligence of the consul, his plans had been divulged, fled in consternation.

In that land where the beautiful in art and literature reached its highest development, whose ruins are our models in sculpture and architecture, and probably would be in painting, if its labors had been as imperishable; the echoes of whose

far-off music has come down the ages, and whose histories and poetry are the despair of all imitators, but for the recorded fact, it would be incredible that a majority of its most august and dignified court conspired to take the life of its wisest, most loving, most harmless citizen—Socrates.

The very leaders in church and state, the scribes and Pharisees, when the Messiah came, after a three years' mission spent in ceaseless labors for the good of men, conspired against him, and murdered him, incredible as it must always seem. Yea, within the generation, honorable senators and representatives sat in the nation's capital, under oath to support the constitution and government of the United States and plotted against the government, sending its arms and military stores to points where they would fall into the hands of the rebellion. Ought we to wonder that that same body is found capable of plotting a conspiracy against the rights of the laboring men of the country? All the other conspiracies named were against life, this one appeared to be only against property, and the rights of the laborer, who had no representatives of his own class to defend him. Worship of party was one of the principal causes of the blindness of the masses to the reality of what was going on. One of the bitterest regrets of the writer's life is the recollection of his own blindness that caused him

implicitly to trust to the honesty of the party that boasted that it had liberated the black man. He little thought that he was helping to rivet fetters on the limbs of black and white alike.

He has solemnly promised before God that, if He will forgive him for the past, he will be more vigilant in the future, and will do what he can to "undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free." When on this subject he began to "see men as trees walking," he was assured by the party press that it was all right, that only bankers, who were guiding affairs, knew anything about finance. He has learned by experience that "cursed is the man who trusts in man." I believe Bacon is accredited with the statement that, if there is a sufficient pecuniary motive, men will dispute gravitation itself.

A corrupt and blind press was another of the greatest, perhaps the greatest, means of accomplishing the great wickedness that is the cause of the present distress. Perhaps actual bribery or purchase was not often resorted to, but papers were bribed by their apparent money interests. In an article not long ago the New York *Graphic* showed that all the great New York papers were owned or controlled by millionaires, and of course run in the interest of money-lenders. All these great papers whose columns are the text-books on political economy of the masses, do not hesitate to say they are run for money and not for

principle. The ethics they teach are those that have a money value, not those which make men nobler and truer. Take as an example the Chicago *Tribune*, a paper whose net income is probably $300,000. Its senior editor, at a recent meeting of the Press Club held in Chicago, as is reported in the *Congregationalist*, said for substance—I quote the words of that paper—"A shrewd newspaper man will soon learn what the people want, and give it to them. * * * Many years ago, when he was a young man, he had started a paper with a high-minded purpose; he was desirous of leading the public in the paths of goodness and virtue. But as he grew older, he found that such papers were not in demand; he changed his paper in accordance with the financial returns. The object to sight is the almighty dollar, and the question is, does it pay?" The same paper, as I remember, a few years ago, gave an account of the visit of one of its reporters to the den of an astrologer in the garb of a widow lady who desired to have her fortune told. The oily-tongued villain informed the supposed widow that she was under a spell, and intimated that the spell was a person, and that he would remove the spell for fifty dollars, when she would marry the right person and be happy; otherwise, she certainly would be miserable. The reporter said that poor girls who worked hard for their money were actually paying this unmitigated scoundrel fifty

dollars apiece. Several Chicago dailies, to the extent of the pay they get for advertising, are partners, regularly, with such creatures.

This is in accordance with the frank avowal of the *Tribune* editor, but it is worse than heathenism. Juvenal, the Roman satirist, makes his friend Umbricius say, as one of his reasons for leaving the capital, that he could not promise the death of a father, meaning he did not approve of fortune-tellers. Horace, the Roman poet, also warns his readers not to patronize astrologers.

Papers run on the principles openly avowed in this country, are more dangerous to liberty than all the nihilists that ever came to us across the ocean. Perhaps it is too charitable to class such papers as blind leaders of the blind. But it seems to me that men who actually see the ruin sure to result from such an unprincipled course cannot be base enough to pursue it. Even Christian papers, whose editors were blinded by their education, have helped to cover up the real facts.

Ridicule has been one of the chief reliances of the men who have sought, so successfully, to consummate the robbery of the laboring classes. It is a terrible shaft, oftener found in the quiver of the man that knows he has no arguments to use, and oftener used to protect abuses than to correct them. There is a profound philosophy underlying the Scripture that forbids us to call a man a fool. To call a man a fool is in many cases to make him one.

To avoid the Scripture threatening a common dodge is to say one is a lunatic, or crazy, whose argument it is not convenient to meet. When the few men who saw what was going on and were honest enough to try to expose the fraud and robbery, tried to do so, they were by a hireling press and corrupt politicians and often by men who were honest but ignorant, mercilessly assailed and treated to all the vile epithets their vocabulary of billingsgate afforded.

Men of great influence, like Gen. Grant, who knew no more about money than babes, except to spend it, by cunning knaves who expected to make fortunes by it, were prompted to cry "ragbaby," "fiat money," "dishonest money," and other such things.

Have you ever seen a little girl playing with a doll baby and calling it pet names, and said to her contemptuously it was nothing but a dirty old rag? If you have, you have seen her throw it as far as she could, and assume the same contemptuous bearing and words you have exhibited.

Men are only children of a larger growth. I believe that opprobrious epithets that, as arguments, were merely logical fallacies, did more to make the monstrous steal possible than all the legislation of Congress. Those who can at all remember know what enthusiastic Greenbackers all Republicans were, and even Democrats were scarcely less friendly to them. What has come over the spirit

of their dreams? Greenbacks were the only thing that saved our country in the terrible conflict when every dollar of gold and silver skulked away, or fled the country. John Sherman says that, since they were received into the Treasury, they have, at the urgent request of the bondholders, paid hundreds of millions of gold obligations. Besides this, they have always faithfully paid all private debts, and have cost the people next to nothing. This is their crime in the eyes of specie mongers, for which they must die. Will the people confirm the unjust and criminal sentence?

CLASS LEGISLATORS.

English history, as given by Alison, shows that the lowest class to whom the franchise was extended by the Reform Bill, the urban £10 to £20 rate payers being the majority of the voters, took all power into their own hands. They were chiefly the traders and monied men. It was to their interest that money should be dear and commodities cheap. By a sharp contraction of the currency, encumbered landed possessions were made to fall readily into their possession. With these came greatly enhanced political power.

"They halved the income and doubled the debts of the landed proprietors, while they doubled the exchangeable value of the income of the inhabitants of towns."

From this, and what appears to be similar facts

in French history, the writer thinks that he has derived a law that the lowest class to which the franchise extends will govern the whole state. Perhaps in the end it may be so, but our case as yet does not look that way.

The same classes that seized the power under the Reform Bill there, have done the same thing here.

As they did there they have, by legislation, freed themselves mostly from the burdens of taxation and by a great contraction of the currency have far more than doubled the weight of other people's debts and taxes, and taken far more than half from the value of other people's property while vastly increasing the amount and far more than doubling the value of their own—that is, money.

The means by which this small minority of the voters have secured such enormous results in their own favor are:

First, superior knowledge on their part, and on the part of the robbed masses inherited prejudices in favor of a false money system. Second, the free use of money to buy legislation in their favor; to buy, in one way and another, newspapers; to buy, consciously or unconsciously, ministers, teachers, men of influence in every calling; to buy the support of political parties, and where to carry out their purposes they must, the popular vote itself. Third, this vast money monopoly has

brought into existence a large number of other monster monopolies which it aids and abets to get their aid against the plundered masses.

The founders of the government saw the danger of allowing bankers and other monopolists through their vast concentrated capital to elect themselves and their attorneys to make laws for their own advantage.

In the "Debates of Congress" of 1789 and 1790, pages 445 and 446, United States Senate, we find recorded a motion to amend the ninth section of the Constitution, as follows:

"Nor shall any person holding an office or stock in any institution in the nature of a bank for issuing or discounting bills or notes payable to bearer or order, under the authority of the United States be a member of either House while he holds such stock, but no power to grant any charter of incorporation or any charter or other monopoly shall be implied."

Tuesday, January 16th, it passed—yeas 13, nays 12. Now despite the fact that bankers as a class would not be entitled to more than two or three members, they have nearly a majority in Congress. If you add the members concerned in other monopolies, there are more than a majority. When John Quincy Adams was in Congress, he held that he had no right to vote on the subject of the National Bank of which he was a stockholder, until he had disposed of his stock. These men

have no such scruples, but seek office under the pretense that they will represent the interests of the people, and then shamelessly betray their interests to subserve their own.

There is a fallacy in the public mind, that lawyers from their education are peculiarly fitted to be law makers. The fact is their education unfits them for the lofty duties of statesmanship. The utter failure of the laws which are their workmanship, which fill our statute books, to secure the ends of justice, is abundant proof of their unfitness to make laws. Their education teaches them to slavishly follow precedents. It is the business of the lawmaker to make precedents. His education should fit him to look at a subject from every side. If he dare not venture where there are no precedents, as the man who is only a lawyer seldom does, he must fail as a lawmaker. The legislator should be a man whom education and calling makes an independent man, who is not simply the hireling of another; the very habit of taking fees is a dangerous qualification for a lawmaker. Can a Congressman take, as an attorney for a company or an individual, a fee to secure a contract to be paid out of the government funds, and be honest? Many attorneys seek office, not to serve the people but to get where they can command larger fees. They mystify their consciences, if they have any left after years of practice in freeing criminals from justice, by the plea that it is only profes-

sional, but in fact they serve, not the people who pay their salaries, but their clients. There are some high minded honorable lawyers whose common sense and sterling honesty their one-sided education has not spoiled, who make real statesmen, but their number is not large. As a rule intelligent farmers, or men of almost any other calling are better fitted for statesmanship, and yet owing to the fact that they have cheek and tongue and leisure to attend caucuses and conventions, and can get money, they manage to secure the majority of the legislative offices. The consequence is they justify the terrible denunciation of the Saviour when he said: "Wo unto you also, ye lawyers, for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and you yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers."

The bankers and other monopolists, with the attorneys, a large portion of whom are not above taking fees, constitute almost the whole of Congress. But for the fact that some of the banker class are yet, in intention, and so far as the blinding nature of self interest will allow them to see the truth, in action honorable and upright men, there would be no hope at all for the laborer, so long as the present state of affairs continues. Although in the majority, unless he rouses himself and breaks the party fetters that bind him, and votes only for men who will regard man, not simply money and its interests, he can look forward to

little more than one unending round of toil, with few of the enjoyments and blessings of life, ending only with the grave.

All this is utterly and cruelly wrong, and a God of justice who for every drop of black man's blood drawn by the oppressor's lash, drew one or more drops of white man's blood with the sword during four years of national and individual suffering, will certainly in the end see that every dollar filched from the hard earnings of His humble poor is repaid with a terrible interest of agony and retribution.

Class legislators naturally produce class legislation. If we wish to get rid of one we must prevent the other. Such prevention is entirely possible if the people so will it. We do not charge that bankers and lawyers are necessarily more selfish than other men. We do say that having a great and direct self interest, and money to buy legislation, they are less fit to be trusted as legislators; that no class of men can be trusted to guard the rights of other classes.

CHAPTER XIII.

USURY.

We come now to consider that which was the propellent motive as well as the means of accomplishing most of the injustice we have described.

It has been one of the prime causes of the downfall of nations from the ruin of Egypt to the present. I propose to show that usury is pointedly and unmistakably condemned and forbidden by God, and cannot be sustained by reason. The first statement of God's law on this subject is in Exodus, twenty-second chapter.

"If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury." This law is found, not among ceremonial precepts which were temporary, but among moral and governmental laws that abide. One year later, according to the accepted chronology, we find the law again repeated with additions and explanations that seem to have been needful to its proper enforcement.

Leviticus twenty-fifth, chapter 35, 37: "And if thy brother be waxen poor and fallen in decay with thee,then thou shalt relieve him; *yea though*

he be a stranger; that he may live with thee but fear thy God; that thy brother may live with thee."

"Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase."

We find not only from this passage but from others still more positive and particular that God did not allow men to refuse to give such relief: Deuteronomy 15: 8, 9: "But thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need *in that which* he needeth.

Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, the seventh year, the year of release is at hand, and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought, and he cry to the Lord against thee."

We see also from the above and the first and second verses of the same chapter that if this money which the well-to-do man was obliged to lend without usury even to a stranger and sojourner could not be paid before the jubilee it must be released.

"At the end of every seventh year thou shalt make a release. And this is the manner of the release: Every creditor that lendeth aught unto his neighbor shall release it, he shall not exact it of his neighbor or of his brother, because it is called the Lord's release."

It would seem that in the forty years between the first and second and fuller publication of the law, usurers had taken the ground now generally

assumed, that usury was "unlawful interest," and that interest was right. To meet this case usury is supplemented by the expression "or increase." This can leave no possible doubt that all increase or pay for the use of money was strictly forbidden. Usurers the world over and in all time are noted for finding ways to evade the law. It appears that some of that time had learned to dodge the letter of the law, and loaned provisions instead of money and took increase, so it is added, "nor lend him thy victuals for increase."

It may safely be said, just as it is with men, what God repeats he lays particular stress upon. In one case it is said "He may live with thee." And in another that "thy brother may live with thee." What cares the ordinary usurer whether his victim lives with him or, indeed, lives at all, so that he can get his interest? A short time before his death the great Law-giver, not only for the Jews, but for the world, in the book of Deuteronomy, which means the second law, because it repeats laws before enacted, reiterates, and in a most solemn manner, under the sanction, on the one hand, of his blessings, if the people kept all his laws, and the most terrible curses if they did not keep and obey them, confirms them, and pledges the people to perpetual obedience to them. Since that time the terrible punishments threatened against disobedience have been remarkably fulfilled to the letter in the case of the Jews. The

law, as somewhat condensed here, is: "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother: usury of money, usury of anything that is lent upon usury: Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury: but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all thou settest thy hand to in the land whither thou goest to possess it." From this we may infer that the ingenious usurer had again been racking his brain to find out how to get something for nothing. To forever close up any loophole for such dodge, it is added: "Usury of anything that is lent upon usury." As in a former case, the blessing of God in all they should do in their new home is made dependent upon obedience to this law. If God is the unchangeable being that he is represented to be in the Bible, and so hated usury then that he would terribly curse the people who practiced it upon their fellows, how must he regard it now when everywhere in professedly Christian countries he sees the monstrous inequality, the fabulously rich few, and the wretchedly poor, and criminal because poor, masses that it always and everywhere creates. But the sharp eye of the usurer or his apologists detects an exception in the letter of the law as last given. We might dismiss this exception with the obvious remarks that an exception cannot effect the repeal of its law. That the unmistakable meaning of the law requires a Christian not to take usury of a

Christian; would forbid a citizen to take money of his fellow citizen. That if this law were heeded by Christians, usury would soon lose its power to harm any one. That the plain teaching of the New Testament, in the sheet that was let down to Peter, and in the poor man that fell among thieves, is that the relation of Jew and stranger has ceased, and that "there is neither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free, but all are one in Christ Jesus," and that one in rights under the law—a Jew. But we propose to leave no loophole to get out of this argument, and we call particular attention to the following facts: The word rendered stranger in Leviticus 25: 35 is in the Hebrew *ger*, and means a sojourner. This stranger had to be circumcised, as is apparent in Genesis 17: 13, 14. Exodus 12: 44, 48. He had all the rights of any Jew, even the rights to relief when poor and to God's release. Genesis 12: 49.

With the Jews he was required to swear to observe all the laws, including this upon usury. Deuteronomy 29: 11, and 31: 12. John 8: 33.

The stranger having all the rights of a Jew under one and the same law was expressly exempt from usury. Leviticus 25: 35, 37.

Observe that this stranger is a brother expressly so called in the thirty-fifth verse.

When this law in Leviticus was given, and for almost forty years afterward the Jews were in the desert and had no neighboring nations, and hence

no immediate need of a law to regulate their intercourse with external nations.

At the time of the giving the law in Deuteronomy, they are just about to take their place among the nations. The Hebrew word that is used for stranger in this passage is *nokri* and does not mean sojourner, as does the word in Leviticus, but one of an outside nation, a stranger, or foreigner.

This stranger had none of the rights of a Jew. He must not eat the passover or of the sacrifice. Exodus 29: 33. Leviticus 22: 10, 13. He had no right to God's release at the jubilee, Deuteronomy 15: 3, here rendered foreigner. Tacitus, the Roman historian, says that the Jew was not allowed to eat or sleep with one of another nation unless he was a proselyte.

The "Septuagint Greek" translates the Hebrew *ger* by the very word proselyte, but in Deuteronomy 15: 3 it has the word *allotrion*, also in Deuteronomy 23: 19, which is the apparent exception in the usury law. This word means, as it is translated in Deuteronomy 15: 3, foreigner, the stranger of whom Tacitus speaks.

We see then unmistakably that this apparent exception is no exception at all, but that God's law, obedience to which has the promise of His loving favor, and disobedience to which is threatened with the most terrible punishment, strictly forbids usury, except in the case of outside

heathen, and as severely forbids it in their case when they accept the true religion and become His children.

No nation gives to the subjects of other nations the same rights which its own enjoy, even when they make a temporary home within its borders, unless they formally adopt its government and swear allegiance to the same. This is just what Moses and Joshua caused the strangers to do, and those who did it had all the rights of the Jews, even to the septennial release from all debts.

The same command to lend, hoping for nothing, is found in the New Testament. Matthew 5:42—"Give to him that asketh thee and from him that would borrow of thee turn not away." Luke 6: 35 "But love your enemies, and do good and lend, hoping for nothing: and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be children of the Highest."

Where the precept is plain, the real Christian does not need to seek for the reason, yet reasons are not wanting in this case.

The external nations were not Christian but heathen—rebels not merely against the nation that was God's chosen people, but against God Himself. Judaism was not merely a nation, living among other nations, but it was the true religion domiciled among the false. The devotees of the false religion, especially in an outward material age, to induce them to accept the true, must see that its followers had advantages that they did not have.

The Roman historian, Tacitus, tells us that all the Jewish customs, especially religious customs, were just the reverse of those of other nations. The hog was an abomination to a Jew. The Romans offered it in sacrifice. In this state of affairs, to keep the peace, and to secure the progress of the true religion, God must in some way and to some extent subject the surrounding nations to the Jews.

I think it will be apparent from facts that I shall give that the subjection was that of

DEBTS, AND THE MEANS OF IT, USURY.

Proverbs 22: 7. "The rich rule over the poor, and the borrower is servant to the lender." To the stranger that was a foreigner, as we have seen, the Jews might lend upon usury, and they had not the benefit of "God's release;" hence they were in a state of permanent bondage until they paid the debt; becoming proselytes, they had a right to the "Lord's release." In the book of Deuteronomy, where the first permission to take usury of a stranger, a foreigner, is found in this passage that shows conclusively that our explanation of that permission is the right one, fifteenth chapter, sixth verse, "For the Lord thy God blesseth thee as he promised thee, and thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow, and thou shalt reign over many nations, but they shall not reign over thee."

The permission to lend is to outside nations, and the result of the lending is the subjection of the nations. The last clause of the 12th verse of the 28th chapter is "and thou shalt lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow."

Among the curses pronounced upon the Jews if they did not obey all the laws, including the law against usury, subjection to the stranger by means of poverty is threatened. Deuteronomy 28: 43, 44. The stranger here mentioned is the proselyte, not the foreigner. Even in their distress because of their sin, God would not let them be enslaved by usury to idolatrous nations. The passage is very striking, and is as follows:

"The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low.

"He shall lend to thee, and thou shalt not lend to him; he shall be the head and thou shalt be the tail."

Both should be parts of one great religious movement, but the stranger, instead of the Jew, the head of it. The descendant of Abraham should, because of disobedience, shrivel up to the dimensions only of its tail, as he is to-day.

Deuteronomy, from the 27th to the 34th chapter, is commended as good reading for those who have by means of usury enslaved the laboring masses of their countrymen not only to themselves but

also to British usurers, thus making their own country subject to England.

Let the Christian and citizen notice:

1st. God's law forbids all usury for him unless he can find some outside heathen from whom to exact it.

2d. The New Testament rule, as illustrated in the case of the man who fell among thieves, forbids even that by showing that the stranger is abolished.

We have shown positively that the permission to take usury of strangers was not an exception to the usury law, but an added law to regulate intercourse with foreign nations; that when he became a proselyte he was exempt from the same; that there are no strangers now, hence the law has expired by its own limitation.

Having now given a complete view of the law, let us see whether it was enforced or suffered to become a dead letter. Prov. 28:8. "He that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor." The Hebrew, as given in a marginal reading for unjust gain is *increase.* The "Septuagint Greek" and "Young's Concordance" both translate the Hebrew *tarbith* in the same way so that we have here both a translation and a comment. Increase here is declared to be unjust gain, and the man is condemned as unjust who takes any increase.

In the 15th Psalm, in answer to the questions

"Lord, who shall abide in Thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in Thy holy hill?" In summing up the short list of persons declared eligible to such exaltation, David says: "He that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. He that doeth these things shall never be moved."

If the Psalmist was right the great crop of usurers and lawyers have small show for the possession of corner lots on God's "holy hill."

Isaiah 24:2, in the brief summary of the classes of persons who had alike sinned and who shall alike be punished with utter destruction, the prophet says it shall be "as with the taker of usury so with the giver of usury to him." He goes on to say: "The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant."

"Therefore hath the curse devoured the earth and they that dwell therein are desolate." God has not changed his opinion of usury, and there is little hope that he will change his practice concerning it. After Jeremiah had been compelled to prophecy the destruction and captivity of the Jews because of their wickedness, and had doubtless been called a lunatic and crazy and every other vile epithet that the smart men of his time could think of, he cried out: "Wo is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me, a man of strife, and

a man of contention to the whole earth! I have neither lent on usury nor have men lent to me on usury; yet every one of them doth curse me."

Evidently in his estimation, the most wicked and censurable thing he could think of, was taking and giving usury

In the 18th chapter of Ezekiel, God begins by declaring that all souls are His, and that the soul that sins shall die, and goes on to declare positively what kind of sinners shall die: "He hath given forth upon usury, and hath taken increase. Shall he then live? He shall not live; he that hath done all these abominations, he shall surely die; his blood shall be upon him." Positively and negatively the same judgment is repeated, three times in the same chapter. The design of repetition is always to make more emphatic and certain the thing repeated.

In the 22d chapter of Ezekiel the general corruption of the prophets, priests, princes and people of Jerusalem is shown and the sins for which she was to be destroyed and the remnant of her people sent into captivity. Prominent among her sins are these: "In thee have they taken gifts to shed blood; thou hast taken usury and increase, and thou hast greedily gained of thy neighbor by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord God." God charges the several classes of sinners as follows: "There is a conspiracy of her prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring lion raven-

ing the prey; they have devoured souls; they have taken the treasure and precious things; they have made her many widows in the midst thereof." "Her priests have violated my law, and have profaned mine holy things; they have put no difference between the holy and the profane, neither have they showed difference between the unclean and the clean and have hid their eyes from my Sabbaths, and I am profaned among them." "Her princes" (presidents, members of Congress, rich bankers, great landholders and business men) "in the midst thereof are like wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood," (the blood of suicides, widows and orphans, that have died of want and disease and despair, the result of their heartless selfishness) "and to destroy souls to get dishonest gain." "And her prophets have daubed them with untempered mortar" (calling their unlawful pursuit of gain sharp business sense, and reproaching their victims as incompetent to manage business affairs) "seeing vanity and divining lies unto them, saying thus saith the Lord God when the Lord hath not spoken."

"The people of the land have used oppression and exercised robbery, and vexed the poor and needy; yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully." (Was there ever a time when these words were more strikingly true than the present?) * * * "Therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed

them with the fire of my wrath; their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord."

As much as to say they destroyed one another by usury, extortion and wrong, therefore their own way, which is to destroy one another, I have brought upon them, and utterly destroyed them. They sowed the wind, they have reaped the whirlwind, for "whatsoever man soweth that shall he reap."

We have seen how during a period of a thousand years God denounced usury and punished men for practicing it by captivity and loss of all things and even death itself.

We shall now consider a case where He forced, through His servant, Nehemiah, all the Jews to give it up. Nehemiah 5:3. "Some also there were who said, we have mortgaged our lands, vineyards and houses, that we might buy corn, because of the dearth. There were also who said, we have borrowed money for the king's tribute, *and that upon* our lands and vineyards. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children; and lo, we bring unto bondage our sons and daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought unto bondage already; neither is it in our power to redeem them: for other men have our lands and vineyards. And I was angry when I heard their cry and these words. Then I consulted with myself,

and I rebuked the nobles and the rulers and said unto them, ye exact usury every one of his brother, and I set a great assembly against them."

Observe that it is right to be angry at injustice, and as we have seen before and see here, usury is injustice; that if a man of God gets angry in such a case and wants to consult, unless he wants the advice of interested parties, he must sometimes consult himself; that the nobles and rulers, members of Congress and public officials whose duty it is to protect the poor against such extortion and robbery, are themselves seeking to get their hands still deeper into the poor people's pockets, and to get still more mortgages on everything they have left; that it is the duty of every real man of God to set a great assembly against them. "Also I said it is not good that ye do; ought ye not to walk in the fear of our God because of the reproach of the heathen, our enemies." Men don't walk in the fear of God who take usury. This is God's word, not mine. My Christian friend, "ought you not to walk in the fear of our God" because of His enemies. He has said, "The reproaches of them that reproach thee have fallen upon me." The enemy of God who yet has some feelings of humanity sees the terrible injustice and wrong that prevails and observes that you either practice, or sanction or palliate the injustice, and naturally concludes that the God you worship sanctions it too. Hence his moral nature recoils from you and he hates and despises the God you worship.

God by the mouth of Nehemiah goes on to say, "I pray you let us leave off this usury. Restore, I pray you to them, even this day, their lands, their vineyards, their olive yards and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money and of the corn, the wine and the oil, that ye exact of them."

The hundredth part seems to have been the usury they were allowed by the law to take of foreigners, as we have seen, probably for the purpose of subjecting the heathen to the Jew, in part at least for his own good and for the security of the Jew. This may also have been allowed in part for governmental reasons. To freely allow foreigners to borrow money and carry it out of the country, perhaps for a long time, would so contract the currency as to very seriously oppress the poor and producing class who were the great body of the people.

See how the rich who, as James says, are "they that oppress you," took advantage of this twelve per cent. which was allowed to be put upon foreigners to subject them and discourage the exportation of money, to oppress and enslave their poor brethren.

Always and everywhere the usurer readily earns the denunciation that the Saviour hurled, doubtless, at him and his abettors when He said that we should beware of the scribes "Which devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayers."

The result in this memorable case was that all the people executed the "Lord's release" giving up interest and principal and releasing lands and vineyards and olive yards.

God says all souls are His and it is His right to protect the poor, since the rich man and the oppressor owes Him everything, even life itself, and it was by means of His favor and protection that he got his riches.

When the country was in peril it took by force the son and only stay of the poor widow, paid him in money that at the dictation of bankers and gold gamblers was depreciated to forty cents in gold, in many cases buried him in a Southern clime; if he left any posterity it has put upon their necks a heavy yoke of usury. Hard as this was, except the outrage inflicted at the instigation of usurers and gamblers, it was, perhaps, justified in the emergency. But certainly if it took men, it should not have been less sparing of money, but, as it did of men, so it should have taken money enough to save the country, if there was enough in it. As it was, the rich managed to shift from themselves most of the burden of saving the state, and are now enjoying the lion's share of the benefits, and after coining fabulous millions of wealth out of their country's distress, the patrimony saved by the soldier's efforts is heavily mortgaged to them, and what with the heavy load of usury and the low price and dull sale of the products of their labor caused

by a wicked contraction of the volume of money, the children of the country's saviors are, many of them, little better off than slaves.

What the country needs is a Nehemiah to "break every yoke and let the oppressed go free," and to wrest from the usurious oppressors the "Lord's release."

We have seen that the middle wall of partition is broken down, and that the Gentile has all the rights of the Jew, including exemption from usury.

It is a principle of law, that while the reason remains the law remains. The oppressive character of usury is the same now that it was when, as we have seen, God swore his people, under Moses, under Joshua, under Nehemiah, to refrain from practicing it, promising his favor if they obeyed, and denouncing the most terrible punishments, including captivity and death, to all except a remnant, who should be dispersed among the nations if they disobeyed.

But some suppose that Christ repealed the law in the passage in Matthew, twenty-fifth chapter, and in Luke, nineteenth chapter.

The most obvious, and as I think all sufficient answer to this last is that a law that has received the most formal and emphatic sanction of the law giver can never be repealed by mere reference to an opposite custom in the way of illustration nor in any other way than by direct and formal repeal such as Christ gave in case of Moses' law of

divorce. This law had been in force fifteen hundred years and the prophets had foretold the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the remnant of the Jews for its violation. Is it possible that under such circumstances the law was repealed? If so, the repeal did not prevent any of the consequences of its violation that had been threatened.

The law executed is certain proof that the law was not repealed. By the same kind of proof we can readily show that Christ approved of the unjust judge, and of injustice and disregard of God and man; of the tricky steward that cheated his Lord; that the apostles approved of horse racing, boxing and even war itself.

Barnes, in his notes on these passages, says the nobleman in question was Archelaus, who went to Rome to be confirmed in the government he had inherited. That because of his cruel and unjust character, fifty Jews went to Rome to protest against his confirmation. These were his subjects that would not have him to reign over them.

If this is so, of course it was only in keeping with his character that he should require his servants to take usury for him. The passage in Proverbs declares increase to be unjust gain.

If we can make the passages refer to Christ, as they probably do in some particulars, then to make usury mean interest as some do, makes the passages inconsistent in several particulars.

The term "occupy" is in Greek, engage in business. When he called them to account he wanted to know how much they had gained, not by usury, but by business or "by trading." The first servant said: "Lord, thy pound has gained by work, (I give the meaning of the Greek) not by usury, ten pounds." To suppose that it had gained ten pounds by usury at the only rate named would make both master and man at least centenarians at the time of this reckoning, as we cannot suppose them to have been less than twenty years old when this remarkable piece of financiering began. Then to suppose that eleven men all lived eighty years to give and receive the account, taxes one's credulity heavily. Then if the second man gained his by usury, why did not his pound gain ten pounds instead of five? He had the same capital and the same time.

The Lord commanded the third man, as he did the others, to trade with his capital; why does he now punish him for not putting it out to usury?

After all, his punishment must have been hardly worth naming because of its brief duration, for he was already over a hundred years old.

In Matthew, the man who gained five talents, gained them by working with them; so also did the second. On what principle did the Lord condemn the third as lazy, if all that was required was to hand it over to some usurer? This is just the way lazy men do now with the Lord's money.

Such a thing as a bank in our sense of the term, had no existence at that time. The words rendered "bank" and "exchangers" are in the Greek the same word. It means three-footed, and is a common word for table. It is an expression for business of various kinds. The apostles said that it was not meet for them to leave the service of God "to serve tables," meaning to oversee the distribution of what was given to the poor of the church. The word rendered "usury" means that which is begotten, offspring. That it is the common word for usury is admitted. That it may mean increase that is secured by using labor in connection with capital, as the increase was secured in the case of the ten and five pounds and the five and two talents, I think must be admitted.

The latter explanation makes the whole story in both cases consistent and reasonable. To insist that it means usury involves all the absurdities above described.

Observe the use made of the pounds and talents gained. The Lord appears not to have put them in his own strong box, nor to have himself put them out at usury, nor to have set these servants up in the banking business on a large scale. The servant that had the ten talents, five of which he had gained by work, was allowed to keep them all and was given the one talent of the slothful servant and he besides was rewarded with the rule over "many things," and the man who had gained by

work, ten pounds, received as a gift the one pound and was made ruler over ten cities.

In view of the fact that God, three times, by the hands of His servants, swore His people not to take usury, punished them with death and captivity as he had threatened, because they did take it, is it reasonable to believe that He thus rewarded these servants because they did practice it, and that He severely punished two of their number because they did not practice it ?

We have now completed the Bible argument against usury. The person who shall find a material error and shall inform me of the same, will put me under great obligation to him.

The subject is one of the very last importance and one on which no one can afford to be in error.

God's favor is better for any man than all earthly possessions.

USURY CONDEMNED BY REASON.

Adam Smith, and all economists after him, agree that what a man earns is his proper wages.

Statistics show that one-half, and probably more of the present earnings of labor goes to pay usury that nobody earns.

To speak of money earning, or, as Shakspeare has it, the "barren breed of metal" producing, is to talk nonsense. But has not past labor, as it is called, or capital, a right to a share in the proceeds of labor? There is where we join issue and say,

in the form of money, it never has any such rights except in the case of partnership, where the parties divide the risk. There is a distinction, too often overlooked between the capitalist and the employer or business manager. The latter from the responsible and extremely valuable kind of labor he performs and the risk he must run, is justly entitled to much larger wages than other laborers, but beyond pay for wear and tear of buildings and machinery, and necessary expenses of insurance, if he has any, and of taxes of various kinds, with something added for risk, he has no right to compensation for use of capital. Laborers, forgetting this distinction between employer and capitalist, often blame the wrong man, and the poor employer, between the blind fury of the laborer, and grinding avarice of the usurer, is the most oppressed man in the community.

But men will not loan anything else for no compensation; why should they loan money? Money is not property in the ordinary sense, but the legal instrument for the exchange of property. The law of its creation only contemplates it in that light. The holder of it has that which will procure for him, in consequence of this legal power, anything else he may desire, and with which, if he hoards up a sufficient amount, he can take all he pleases of every other kind of property at his own price, since the quantity of money in circulation fixes the price of all kinds of property. The design of money

and the good of community whose united will gives this power does not contemplate men's hoarding money. When men turn all their other property into money and let it out on usury, they in a sense hoard it, instead of spending it as the very institution of money contemplates, and as the good of community requires. They use a power given by community, the benfits of which beyond simple use as Gladstone says, belongs to community, to amass fortunes for themselves at other people's expense. No other kind of property has such power. Piling up other property except land titles, which we shall discuss hereafter, does not effect the value of other property, or even enable the holders to get what they please for that particular kind, unless they can create a monopoly.

Money spent is free to fulfill the design of its creation. Money put out at interest is hoarded, and yet used to get something for nothing. If one buys a horse he must also buy harness, wagon, various tools or implements; must build a barn, procure food and expend labor on him to get any good of his money. In addition to all this, to be sure to get his money out of him or them, he must pay somebody for insuring them. He can't get them insured for what they cost and is liable to lose all at any moment. If he lends either or all of them or any kind of property except money, he ought to get hire for them, which will not be usury if the charge be not too great, but will be pay back for

the money put into them. The exception to this is where things are returned in kind, as "victuals."

The usurer requires that his money be insured to several times the amount of the principal and interest, and that the man who thus insures his money, pay him a heavy compensation every year besides.

The fact that usurers collectively must be paid an enormous amount of money every year, while they hold in their hands the power of fixing the prices of all commodities, works unutterable oppression in the country. There can be no such thing as a normal price of commodities where markets are always glutted with all kinds of property required to be sold at any price they will bring to pay usury. No amount of protection ever has saved or can save such a people from poverty and the less amount of money usurers allow to circulate the greater the distress, and the more certain and rapid the ruin and destruction. This is the verdict of history as well as the deduction of reason.

In Greece, in the time of Solon, (Smith's Greece, chapter ten, pages eleven and twelve), through the means of usury the poor had lost all their property, and in many cases were held as actual slaves by the rich. By his celebrated law, called Seisachtheia, or shaking off of burdens, he cancelled all contracts by which lands or persons had become obligated for debts, and thus prevented an actual uprising of the poor against their oppressors.

He gave still farther relief to all classes except the bondholder class, by lessening by *fiat* the value of money something over one-fourth, a measure which, like many others of like character in the history of nations, ancient and modern, did not have to be undone.

Tacitus, Annals Book 6, chapters sixteen and seventeen, says:

"Usury was, in truth, an inveterate evil in Rome, and the cause of ever-recurring discord and seditions. * * * Afterwards, by a regulation of the tribunes, it was reduced to one-half, and at last usury was forbidden." It was afterwards restored, and was one of the causes of the nation's downfall. Usurers called in their debts, and hoarded their money, causing great distress, but finally the "emperor brought relief by placing a sum of a hundred thousand great sesterces" where it could be borrowed without interest by giving landed security to the people to double the value of money loaned.

"When usurers found they could not have their own way, they, too, were glad to lend their money without usury."

Without doubt such would be the case everywhere were usury abolished. Even without usury the money-lender would have a very great advantage over other property-holders. The very fact that he could claim his dues which are the whole amount of his property in money, while all other

property was liable to sudden depreciation in money value, would be a great advantage given to him, not by his property as property, but by community at its own risk. The Roman law at one time required all money loaners to invest in other property three-fourths of their money. As money was a creation of government it certainly had such right over its own creature. The effect of such law was to pour out the hoards and set money free, so that it could accomplish the design of its creation, effect exchanges. The government that secures the actual freedom and independence and equality of its subjects, will strictly forbid all money-lending whether for usury or not.

We learn from Cicero that usury and debt were the principal causes of the conspiracy of Cataline.

Tacitus says in his Germania that usury was unknown among the Germans, and that that other law of God against land monopoly prevailed, land being a common possession. He says that the Romans had fought with these free Germans for over 240 years, and had never finally conquered them; that they had been a greater barrier to Roman ambition than all the kingly governments of the East.

Let the shoddy aristocrats of the country, who are now longing for a strong government as they phrase it, and a standing army to protect them

and their ill-gotten gains from their fellows whom they have robbed, make a note of this. The strongest government in the world is that of a free people protected in their lives and means of properly sustaining life. The government that properly does these things may safely reckon upon an earthly immortality, as it will have the favor of God and man.

Usury was first legalized by English law under that cruel monster and wife-murderer, Henry VIII., all the English bishops signing a protest against it as a violation of God's law.

But men who borrow to make money ought to pay interest.

Statistics show that not more than five per cent. of merchants make what the world calls a success. Most of them, if they do not begin on borrowed capital, find themselves driven by circumstances that they cannot control, to borrow. A series of years of falling prices caused by a money stringency compels them to pay usury, to meet which they must sell at a loss.

The burden often grows rapidly heavier and the means of throwing it off become constantly less. But for the fast accumulating interest they might manage to pay the principal, but as it is, they fail, and the usurer gathers up what he can of the fragments, and the poor men are turned out, ruined in property, in reputation, often in health, to meet the taunts and jeers of the careless,

unthinking mass, including Christians, and even ministers, who say that he lacked capacity to manage business affairs. What wonder that he turns to the cup of forgetfulness to drown his sorrows.

But for usury ten business men would probably succeed where one does now, and the saving to the community would be many times the gain of the usurer.

The comparatively few business men who gain by usury do so at a vast expense to the community. They either have some monopoly, or are in some way expert gamblers in something. Under the present circumstances very few men who are following legitimate callings can long pay usury.

Edward Kellogg, in "Capital and Labor," shows, by actual figures, that if two mechanics just of age should, by denying themselves families, manage to save $1 per day each for forty years and four months, and should loan that sum at seven per cent. per annum, interest paid half yearly and reloaned, and should at that period cease to labor, but should for twenty years and two months longer collect and reloan their interest, after allowing $15,00.80 for their support during the time they did not labor, they would have a fortune of $500,000.

They had actually earned besides expenses while they labored $24,200. This sum during the forty years in which they labored, beginning with nothing, and during twenty years and two months

afterwards, had earned, as men say, besides their support, the vast sum of half a million. The fact is $475,800 of that sum was earned by other people and given to these men. Even more than that; the men who earned the money had insured this vast sum during all the time, themselves suffering all loss from tornadoes, bad crops, money panics and the numerous contingencies that affect money values. At seven per cent. the annual interest at the close of the period is $35,000, or $10,800 more than they earned above expenses in the whole forty years and four months.

If the interest had been one per cent., their whole fortune would have been, after allowing for their support for twenty years and two months, $21,343 and the annual interest $213.44.

Is anybody prepared to maintain that the earnings of a man's lifetime, at ordinary wages, for skilled labor, can earn during his lifetime over twenty-one times as much as the man himself? If he cannot he must give up interest as unjust. Here is no speculation, only he ordinary rate of interest.

We maintain that usury is unjust, and must be entirely forbidden for the following reasons:

1st. That God forbids it, and He will destroy the nation and punish the men that practice it.

2d. It is unjust because it gives to individuals most of the benefits that arise from an instrument designed for the common good.

3d. It imposes all the risks incident upon the property relations and production upon other kinds of property

4th. It amasses vast amounts of money in banks and the hands of usurers, and thus by contracting the currency, lessens the price of all property and allows the usurer to take what he pleases.

5th. It imposes upon the rest of society the burden of sustaining the value of the money insured.

6th. It discourages the true economy of earning and spending for the common good, and encourages the false one of saving and lending to support future idleness.

7th. It robs labor of its just earnings to pay vast amounts that were never earned.

8th. It charges for the use of that so far as the original intent of which is concerned, was never used but returned in full.

9th. It exacts pay for that that already has received payment in full for all just demands.

10th. It fattens on the ruin caused by money famine, and has no sympathy with measures for monetary relief.

11th. It destroys existing industries needed to sustain the present army of laborers, and deters men from assuming the risk of starting new ones required to feed the coming millions.

12th. It always creates two classes; the one

very rich, the other very poor, and in so doing morally corrupts them both.

Bonds and usury mean bondage and slavery. God's word is ever thundering, "Break every yoke and let the oppressed go free."

Ten of the above propositions vary only slightly from those in "Studies in Justice," by Rev. A. J. Chittenden.

CHAPTER XIV.

ENDOWMENT.

We have seen that God's law condemns under all circumstances and for all times, the practice of usury. Whatever exception there was to this was temporary and was repealed or rather expired by its own limitation, when the partition wall between Jew and Gentile was broken down.

In His law God made provision, abundant and adequate to the needs of Christian education, for all time. In all the tribes cities were given to the priests, the Levites, which with their suburbs were to be their inheritance forever.

He further provided that all His people should pay every year one-tenth of all their income, besides free will offerings to sustain His service and the teachers He had provided.

If our educational institutions are, as we call them, Christian, they must be supported in this way. You will see men who insist that everything about religion must be done according to the Bible, who yet, in the most important of all matters in order to correct ideas about religion—teaching it, readily forsake God's method, adopt worldly methods and use worldly expedients.

Worldly expedients are based upon the wisdom of this world, which often is directly opposed to the law of God. If we have given a correct view of usury as it is related to God's law, and we think we have, our professedly Christian colleges and seminaries for the training of Christian teachers, are supported not in God's way, but in a way sometimes expressly forbidden by human law, even in heathen countries, as unjust. May not this be the reason why even now the experienced ear of such statesmen as John Bright can hear the muffled drum and measured tread of freedom's advancing hosts, coming to hurl tyrants from their thrones and let the oppressed go free?

The report of the Commissioner of Education for 1883–4, shows that from productive funds, most of which was probably usury, the 370 colleges of this country realized for that year $3,018,624, which was about $1,000,000 more than they received from tuition. The army of 4,644 instructors, who are comfortably fed on the proceeds of usury, taking human nature as it is, can hardly be expected, and in most cases would not be allowed, to teach the truth on that subject.

Ordinarily, these men write the text-books not only for the colleges, but for the lower grades of schools, and if they do not defend, which they usually do, the practices that furnish their bread, they do not teach, if they know it, their real character.

Teachers supported in God's way are free to teach the truth; teachers supported in ways of men's devising are tempted, if not forced, to teach what men approve.

Even silence teaches in this case. He that silently accepts the fruit of usury is a usurer, more or less guilty in proportion to his knowledge.

This is the devil's great device to get the aid of good men to help on his schemes for the ruin of the human race. It looks so plausible. Is it not a good thing for a minister who has only a small salary and a large family, to have a few hundreds or thousands of dollars on which he may draw yearly revenue for his support?

He had better, after using what he has, trust God to supply his remaining needs, than defy God's power and trample under foot His law, to get what God and human reason say does not belong to him.

Error always sooner or later brings ruin and trouble. The troubles and commotions which everywhere prevail, causing the stoutest hearts to quail, are proof positive that there has been false teaching in our institutions of learning. Men will yet learn that when they violate God's law in economics as in physics, they must suffer as the result. If only those suffered that sinned, the fate of mortals would seem more tolerable. Often the man whose sin is the greatest seems to suffer the least in this life. If we could see as God sees, it

might be plain to us that even in the hell of lust and crime that the immortal Stead laid open to the horrified gaze of Christendom, the lot of the child victim was happiness itself compared with that of her tormentor whom usury or some other form of injustice enabled to live in idleness and wallow in lust and crime.

Colleges that are supported by a plain and palpable violation of God's law have little claim to be considered Christian. For the time being, if their officers are Christian men, they may help the cause of Christ. God blesses the honest and earnest even though they be, ignorantly, in error; but their works are not perfect and if saved at all, they will "be saved so as by fire."

Aside from violation of God's law, are other reasons why a college should not live upon usury.

A college fully endowed and run, as many are, by a closed board, is entirely independent of the Christian church or the public sentiment of its time. Men, even Christian men sometimes, change their views, and men once elected are sometimes not found to be what they were supposed to be.

Getting influence over others it is found difficult or impossible to get them out of college boards. Thus it comes to pass that a college entirely changes its character and teaches what the man who furnished its funds did not believe and would be very sorry to have taught. Almost invariably the class of persons sought to be benefitted

in the founding of a college or school are in course of time cheated out of their rights and in some way excluded from the privileges sought to be secured to them.

If the descendants of the men who contributed their peck of corn per week to the first college planted in our country, are in the same circumstances as their ancestors were, the hand of charity alone can help them to reap any benefit from this tree of their poor ancestors' planting.

Steadily as her vast endowments have piled up, has the son of the poor man lost power to reap advantage from them. Perhaps it is well that it is so. The professed Christianity taught there would cause his pious ancestor's bones to rattle in the coffin if they could hear it, and the morality and political economy is not much better.

England's seven great public schools, as they are called, were established and endowed to teach her poor, but free, people of the several localities where they were planted. Now a head master on a liberal salary of several thousand pounds, aided by well paid assistants, thumps learning into the skulls of lords in miniature, and noble earls and counts, and sons of merchant princes and great landlords, and lazy usurers, but no son of a poor man ever looks into these stolen precincts, except as a menial. When will the Master again return to this sin-cursed earth and drive out the shameless rich robbers who have stolen the green earth

that God gave to man, and even the choicest blessings that men have sought to secure to their less favored fellows?

The universities of Germany were planted as Christian institutions, but have mostly become infidel.

History shows that the only way to keep institutions pure is to keep them dependent. If a man wants to give to a college for the purpose of having his principles or religion taught, he ought to require that his gift be not kept at interest, but used for teaching purposes within a limited time. In this way he not only can provide to have his views taught, but he is free from the sin of tempting or of requiring men to violate God's law.

The present system not only requires men to sin against God by taking usury, but it sometimes requires them in other ways to wrong men.

Colleges with many thousands of dollars tied up as endowment, employ teachers at low salaries and because they cannot get means to meet their claims make them wait even though they must pay interest to live, or even give up part of their earnings altogether.

Let Christians again be taught to obey God's law that requires them to tithe their income for His cause, including support of Christian schools, and there will be no more occasion for endowments. When men are again taught to obey God's law

the rage for all kinds of insurance will cease. A life of obedience will insure a life of trust, free from all unseemly haste to get rich because we are afraid to trust God's care for us, and free from all shams and shoddies. The question "When the son of man cometh shall He find faith on the earth" ought to ring in the ears of every Christian until it burns a life of perfect holy trust into his very soul. The man that does not trust God for this life may possibly be saved "so as by fire" but, in that higher, more noble sense that makes men free, he cannot be said to have faith.

By a sublime faith for himself and for his work Mr. Moody has been enabled to do about as much effective service in bringing men to Christ as a generation of college and seminary men who have been fed by endowments, but now, if he is rightly reported, he is seeking to provide that not by God's care of them, but thanks to Brother Moody's forethought and kindness, somebody may take up his labors and carry on the work he has begun. Poor man! the adversary has at last stolen a march on him, and though he could not get a chance to furnish him food and shelter, or personal aid while he is living, he is buying him with a grave-stone. Thou foul spirit of evil! couldst thou not have left one human life besides the Master's free from thy dirty finger marks? It must forever be true that no man save one can say truly, "Satan cometh and hath nothing in me."

St. Paul everywhere among the Gentiles made collections of money, not for some great endowment so that they might not have to trust God while they taught this new Gospel, but to relieve the poor widows and orphans, made poor, doubtless, by the Scribes, Pharisees and lawyers, who probably, by usury, "devoured widows' houses, and for a pretense made long prayers." It did not seem good to him to hand it over to bankers or shyster lawyers to be let for nineteen per cent., as some college graduates, who profess to be Christians, are now doing, justifying themselves, doubtless, by the thought that Alma Mater does the same thing, true, at a somewhat smaller figure, but then the principle is the same, and they only get the same as Chicago banks. The Scriptures contain no warrant for endowment, and they expressly tell us that Satan is the prince of this world and we ought naturally to expect that when he helps us he will only help us into sin.

When we forsake God's way we are apt to "hew out for ourselves broken cisterns that can hold no water." God's law is vocal with denunciations of usury and extortion, but the Christian that presumes to talk in the same way is indeed a speckled bird, a croaker, a crank and crazy.

Said the Saviour: "When I sent you forth without purse, or scrip, or shoes, lacked ye anything?" and they answered: "Nothing." If we were to grant that all endowments of Protestant institu-

tions are used to make men wiser, better Christians, which no one will claim, it yet remains true that even in Protestant countries the Papal power is heaping up vast endowments that are free from taxation and subject to one will, and that, alien to our country and its institutions, the income of which is used not to enlighten the masses and make them better citizens, but to propagate and sustain in our country this foreign rule.

In Mexico, under Catholic rule, those endowments had to be confiscated in order to make room for any degree of liberty to men. In Catholic France, so burdensome had they become that the terrible revolution of 1793 was in part a rebellion against them and resulted in their abolition. All, or at least most of these, were given by sincere and pious men who hoped to promote the cause of God and righteousness in the earth.

Obedience to God's law only can promote God's truth and the real good of men.

Base the educational institutions of a people on false principles and you put out their eyes and make it certain that they will experience terrible sufferings.

Many colleges are very much crippled for want of means to do their work in the present, and their present usefulness is very much curtailed in order to save means for the future, when, if the present were well provided for, there would be much greater promise for the future, which would

be far more able to take care of itself than under the present arrangement. I think the future can be trusted to provide for institutions if they deserve its care, without taxing the poverty of the present, and that the institutions for which it has to pay will be all the more appreciated and cherished by it. We see, both from reason and from the law of God, that great endowments kept at usury are wrong.

CHAPTER XV.

LAND TENURE.

The more careful our search the more evident does it become that disregard of God's law is at the bottom of all injustice and wrong among men. We have seen the ruin that violation of the law against usury brought to the Jews and to every nation since. We propose now to examine the provisions of God's law with regard to land tenure. In Leviticus 25: 23 we have the law as follows:

"The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine, for ye are are strangers and sojourners with me." Every Jew and every proselyte had an inalienable right to the land, not in fee simple, but in use. If he wanted to go into business, and sold his land to get money to speculate on, it could not be sold so that it would not come back to him at the great jubilee. If he changed his mind and wished it back before the jubilee, or if he had kin that wished to do so, the land could be redeemed at any time by paying back the purchase money for the time yet left till the jubilee without interest. If God owned the soil then, he owns it now. There has been no time since when he has

abdicated his throne or yielded his right to men. All the right that men have to sell land is a stolen right, but a stolen title never becomes anything else than a stolen title, and never can give any real right of ownership.

When our Saxon ancestor became a man and took a wife he had assigned to him his house plat and his seed plat of land. Whatever happened he had within his reach the means of sustaining life. He had an equal right to a share in the great field which the villagers cultivated in common, could take wood or game from the common forests or fish from the Almighty's rivers; in fact, was a free man, as God designed men to be.

Since land-grabbing tyrants have stolen his birthright, his free-born English descendant is a slave, and is obliged to call the noble descendant of the royal favorite, to whom William the Conqueror, or some earlier or later kingly plunderer, gave what he had stolen from the industrious poor, master. God, in His word says: "Call no man master upon the earth," yet the injustice of men has brought it to pass that in this country a rapidly increasing number of men must look upon others as their masters, and call them by that name that grates harshly upon free men's ears. It is idle to object to the title where the reality exists. Men cut off from an inheritance in their country's soil can only live by the permission of other men who are their masters. Sovereignty goes with the soil.

Let us take a glance at the servile condition of the descendants of our free Anglo-Saxon and early English ancestors. Take a few recent examples from "Bread Winners Abroad," by R. P. Porter, December, 1885.

The "local god almighty" of the city of Sheffield, who claims, by a title stolen from the ancestors of the present generation of toilers in that busy city, the right to tax them for the right to live on a little patch of God's land, draws annually $1,400,000, in rents for miserable stys, half of them not fit for human habitation.

The great incubus upon the shoulders of the newer and more prosperous city of Cardiff is Lord Bute, who for the use of somewhat better quarters, draws every year $1,500,000 from the toilers of that city.

Of the actual wealth producers the condition is as follows:

William Portor, laborer, in Leeds, one of the most properous parts of England, has a wife and one child, gets 18s. per week, pay 83 cents rent out of less than $4.50. This is the ordinary wages for common labor.

Mr. Wealthy testifies that he has been inspector for fifteen years; his jurisdiction extending over three hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants: In all that time he has not known a single laborer, including skilled mechanics who owned the house he lived in and the ground on which it stood. In

Coatbridge, the center of the iron region of Scotland $10,000,000 are paid in wages, $2,000,000, or one-fifth the whole is paid for rent.

A woman and her daughter of sixteen, after six days work, late and early at the anvil in making nails and the "oliver," a heavy machine for making bolts, carried their week's work six miles and when the product of their labor was weighed received for their week's hard work $2.16, out of which must come at least one shilling for fire, carriage and wear of tools besides rent. In answer to the question how they lived they said "We don't live; we hardly exist." Hundreds of women work in the smithies and their earnings do not exceed $1.25 per week.

Among the silk weavers the father of four childern said, by "working twelve to fourteen hours I may make sixty cents per day. I don't believe I made more than $96 last year. Live, sir? We don't live— we just muddle to keep off dying."

But benevolent England is ever ready to assist her industrious poor. Hear this white slave's pitiful story on this point.

"Well, yes sir, I own I was once driven to apply to the parish, and I was blackguarded as if I had robbed a church. It was to bury the poor child. How was I to raise £2; so I went to the parish. I happened to go in a coat that a lady gave me—there it hangs. If she hadn't given it

to me I shouldn't have had a coat at all; and because I'd a coat on they said that such a gentleman as me ought to be ashamed of himselt to come begging."

Land in England became the possession of the very few not only by direct stealing as we have said but, as we have seen, by the operation of usury and sale both of which are directly and pointedly forbidden by God and in their necessary working must produce just the inequality of human condition that we see in England and which is rapidly coming to exist in this country.

As we saw that money was not like other property produced by nature along with or independent of the labor of man, but was a creation of law designed by the law of its being—not to be hoarded, or, what amounted to the same thing, to be loaned to be paid again in money, so we see that land is not like other property that men create by labor either in connection with nature or without her aid, but is purely a part of nature—a creation of God.

What man creates either in conjunction with nature or apart from her operations, he has a right to against the world. That which is purely a force or creation of nature or nature's God he can never rightfully appropriate beyond what is needful to support his own physical nature. If twenty horses were turned into a pasture large enough to keep them all in good condition and one of them,

by his greater strength and cunning, should monopolize the whole pasture and starve the nineteen to death he would do just as men do and his conduct would be no more unreasonable or unjust, in fact would not be unjust at all, while man's is in the highest degree unjust and impious besides.

The idea that absolute ownership of land is necessary to the highest use and improvement is disproved by the experience of far more than half the human race, including the owners of much of the most valuable land in our largest cities where palatial buildings are erected on leased land. If men absolutely owned all the improvements they put upon land and no other men owned the land, they would be far more secure than such lessees. As in the case of money loaned, interest or usury is a means of getting something for nothing, so private property in land is sometimes a much greater means to the same end. A man secures vacant lots in a city or unoccupied tracts of farm land at a low price; other people around these lands expend their money in making improvements. Land rises in value, and this man who has not contributed a dollar to the improvement of the country reaps enormous profits, not one dollar of which is rightfully his, but belongs to the community whose improvements have caused the rise, or rather to the community as a whole. This unearned, wrongfully appropriated rise of value is taken

from the poor, as is usury, and given to the rich. If land had no cash value and men like other animals were not allowed to appropriate more than they could use, or than their physical wants required, when a poor man wanted a house he could build one without having to expend enough to build one, and perhaps several houses, for a place to set it. Often a man has enough to build a house but has to pay it all for a lot. He builds his house by mortgaging both house and lot to some usurer, struggles for years to pay off the mortgage to see all at last engulfed in the capacious maw that is never filled.

The land grabber and the usurer, when not the same man, often hunt together. These are the two principal ways men have devised to escape the fiat of the Creator who said: "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread."

God's law is against them both, and the decree has gone forth that "every plant which my Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up." In spite of all misleading census tables, just as there is an irresistible tendency to run out all small traders and reduce them to the condition of clerks and laborers for the large ones, or the great corporations, so there is an irresistible tendency to run out all small farmers that work their own land and make the small farmers hired laborers of the large ones and the great companies. Every invention of labor-saving machinery seems to accelerate

the process. The process of breaking down independence does not stop with making an operative out of an independent worker; it breaks down the man in both soul and body, so that the bold, free man that the state and the church need for their support has become a timid, cowering slave, who trembles at the eye of a master.

In all kinds of slavery the tendency is to reduce the wages to the point at which the slave can barely live and work. Then when the needs or the pleasure of the master class do not require them to furnish labor enough for all, part must lie idle part or all the time, or must beg, or steal, or tramp. Pliny says the "*latifundia perdidere Italiam.*" The broad estates ruined Italy—Rome. Horace, in pathetic song, describes the process. He says the olive gardens, productive to their former owners, were giving way to the broad fish ponds and extensive parks and flower gardens of rich usurers and land owners. We live in the age of steam and electricity, and hence our descent to national ruin is rapid as compared with the slow locomotion of ancient Rome.

To accelerate the process, our law-makers have invented legal individuals that have no souls, as if a usurer, or a land grabber were not unfeeling enough to answer their purposes of destruction.

We have reduced men to mere parts of a machine, and where God planted a man with feet upon the solid earth, we have made a thing occupying a flat or an attic.

The only way to undo this horrible piece of work is to proclaim a jubilee and restore the land that has been stolen, and cease to eat by usury.

Probably the best way to accomplish this is to forever cease from usury and cease to rob the poor by indirect taxation that makes them pay far more than their just share of the common expenses, and levy all taxes for all purposes upon land. This would make it unprofitable for mere speculators and money kings to hold land in large amounts, and the actual users of land being relieved from a heavy tax they now pay almost without knowing it, would find their actual taxes even less than at present, and their ability to get lands for themselves and their children very greatly increased.

The very rise of land values has a tendency to extinguish the small farmer. As the price of land goes up the poor man finds it impossible to increase the size of his farm to provide homes for his family or compete with the bonanza farmer who does everything by machinery, so he sells out to the rich, who prefer land investments, because they are more secure than others, even though they may furnish less revenue, and, besides, large landed possessions add to a man's power and consequence in the community. The poor man for a time finds it more profitable to rent or move on where land is cheaper. When new lands are exhausted his descent to poverty will be much more rapid and inevitable.

If all taxes were put on land it would greatly simplify and cheapen the process of governing, as a great army of detectives and revenue officers could be dispensed with, which would greatly lessen federal patronage and at the same time greatly diminish the number of criminals to be caught and punished. Smuggling is a crime that men, at least in the beginning, will engage in who would not steal or commit any other crime, hence it is a great demoralizer and incentive to crime. Trading in itself is no sin, and men come to feel that to forbid their trading on one side of a line is an infringement of their rights. In fact, such prohibition is never but partially enforced, which gives the law-breakers a great advantage over the law abiding part of the community. Land as a subject of taxation can never be smuggled or concealed, and will always pay the tax levied on it. Being the common gift of the Creator, it is but right that it pay the common expenses of society. Take away money's power to tax the producer and put all taxes on the forces of nature, then all the products of labor would be free. To tax the products of labor is to discourage production. The products of land are more than the mere products of labor. The poor owner of a small farm is taxed now probably more than he would be if all taxes were put upon land, and the rise of land values with usury added, under the present system, did in England and will in this country,

reduce him in course of time to a farm laborer little or no better off than a slave.

The limits of this chapter forbid a fuller discussion of the question here. The Creator's command to "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it," is handicapped by the boundless greed of man.

The right to live includes the right to a place in which to live.

Man's right to life, which is set forth in our Declaration of Independence, will never be secured till, like our free English ancestry, every honest laboring man and woman has a home on the soil, forever secure against any intrusion of the usurer, or of any creditor or landlord.

I do not say that the early English peasants had very many comforts that the laborer of the present sometimes has; I do say that he had the right to means of sustaining life that did not depend upon the mere pleasure of another, which the masses of to-day have not, and without which men are slaves either in the present or in prospect. As soon as a man opens his mouth for the rights of men he is assailed, often by men who themselves claim to be reformers, as a communist or one who proposes to make men equal in condition in spite of unequal abilities, to discourage the industrious and frugal and encourage the idle and indolent.

All that any wise man contends for is that the

laboring man should have just the chance to earn his bread that the Creator designed that he should have, and that the man who will not work, whether pauper or millionaire, shall not rob him of his honest earnings.

In the early ages of her history, when Rome was all-conquering, her free citizens had equal right to lands, without purchase. When Germany, as Tacitus says, for 240 years resisted successfully the Roman arms, there was no such thing as private property in land. Every man, according to his rank, had his yearly allotment of land. Their money was cattle and sheep, and they did not even know anything about, much less practice, usury or taking interest.

If all men's God given right to land were respected, it is evident that all labor troubles would at once and forever cease.

If, when there failed to be employment so that laborers could live, they could turn to the cultivation of the soil, vast areas of which in every country either are not cultivated at all or are cultivated by men who really have no right to it, and no need for its productions, all men might live in comfort and happiness.

Men could not suddenly amass vast fortunes and ought not to.

CHAPTER XVI.

RAILROADS AND OTHER MONOPOLIES.

Railroads are so recent an invention that the great problems which they present have not yet been fully solved.

The countries of the old world except England, and even she in some of her colonial possessions, are working out the great questions under government ownership mainly, while England and the United States are doing the same by private corporations.

Both methods are subject to drawbacks. The former from what seems to be the fact that governments have not yet generally succeeded in carrying on most kinds of business as cheaply as private concerns. Selfishness seems to be a greater incentive to the invention of labor-saving processes and to strict economy than patriotism.

It may well be questioned whether some of the economies practiced by private concerns are not unjust and ought not to be tolerated.

It appears by the last book on this question, "Rail Road Transportation" by Hadly, that, as a rule, passenger fares are considerably cheaper in countries where the roads are under government

ownership; that freight rates are considerably higher. Among what are classed as fixed charges, interest is the mill stone around the necks of all roads of both kinds.

The above candid author, after a careful comparison of the two methods inclines to private corporations as the best for a country. It appears to me that he has touched too lightly upon many of the abuses of private ownership.

No country in which there is not a well established system of civil service is prepared to manage successfully its own railroads.

Where there is such system there can be no reason in the nature of things why government management ought not to succeed even better than private management. Roads are now managed mostly by employes who have no motive to do well beyond the desire to keep their places.

Among the abuses that make the present system oppressive and sometimes dangerous, are: Outrageous discriminations in favor of some individuals, which makes them dangerously rich, while breaking down and ruining all others in the same line.

Stock-watering, which is resorted to to evade laws that seek to prevent excessive profits, makes some men enormously rich.

Bribery is freely resorted to in many and often exceedingly deceptive ways. Money, stocks, bonds, passes, land grants, attorneys' fees are among the ordinary means of securing valuable franchises

and exemption from the effects of salutary laws or to prevent the enactment of the same. The effect of such things upon the morals of a community is a far greater calamity than all the thousands of millions of dollars they steal in this way. Undermine the morals of a State and you render its downfall only a matter of time. Men who steal under the forms of law ought not to be greatly surprised if, following their example, others steal outside of such forms, and they come to be the sufferers.

Great railroad corporations have usurped the governmental power of taxing the producers of wealth to an extent that no government would ever dare to attempt.

The U. S. Senate about 1874 appointed a special committee to investigate freight charges on farm products to the seaboard. In their report they said that the Western States were overcharged on transportation more than $300,000,000, which is nearly one-half as much as the whole amount of our foreign exports for 1886.

Recently the New York Legislature, by special committee, investigated the matter of rates on Western products. In their report they say that all charges for wheat or corn over 7 cents per bushel per thousand miles is extortionate. In the winter of 1882 hundreds of thousands of bushels were shipped from St. Louis, Mo., to Liverpool by way of New Orleans for less than nine cents per bushel.

Suppose now that a farmer in Lamar, Mo., 1500 miles from New York, should raise on 160 acres of land the equivalent of forty bushels of corn per acre for ten years, or in all 64,000 bushels. The average price at Lamar was about twenty cents per bushel, or $12,800 for ten years. The average price in New York where prices are fixed for the whole country, was sixty cents per bushel. The actual cost of transportation according to the above authoritities was ten and one-half cents. Call it twenty cents to allow for handling and ample profits, and the producer was wronged out of just 100 per cent. somewhere between Lamar and New York.

If he had had the additional $1,280 *per annum*, that was his just due, it would have made all the difference to him between poverty and competence. Multiply this one case by the millions similarly situated and, where now are farms, stock, implements, everything covered with the usurer's mortgages, which in thousands of cases will ere long send the present holders, the actual owners being the usurers, tramping, you would see happy homes of freemen, beyond the reach of the usurer's bony hand.

Wrong always reacts upon the wrong doer. When the extortion of the railroad and the greed of the usurer have changed these homes of independent farmers into quarters for poor tenants, they will have permanently destroyed or crippled their hope of future gains. Vastly less of merchandise, machin-

ery, stock, everything that a well-to-do people consume in vast quantities, and that constitute the security of the usurer, will be required in the country. Shallow political economists will cry "overproduction" and want more "protection against the pauper labor of Europe." Editors of so-called religious papers who know something about religion of some kind, but nothing about the causes that produce economic effects; college presidents and officers and boards of trust, who are holding out their hands for donations to the men who are rich and increased in goods from the proceeds of monopoly in its various forms, whether of money, transportation, corn or cotton, or coal or oil, or the thousand things men corner for gain; doctors of divinity and ministers, often themselves educated by the so-called charity of men who have grown rich by plundering under the forms of law, who now seek to compound the matter with conscience by donating a part of their pelf to educate men to teach that their practices are right and consistent with love to God and man, all these, in addition to the secular press and secular teachers of every kind, with some noble exceptions, who seldom or never have anything to say against the man who takes usury, however much he takes advantage of the necessities of his victim, who may be by profession his brother Christian, censure and reproach the man who after struggling for years falls under his burden of debt that is always growing by

usury. One would think from their talk that it was all right for men to lend money, but very wrong for others to borrow, unless they were rich enough not to need to do so at all. If it is wrong for poor people to borrow it must be wrong for rich people to lend to them. If poor people did not borrow the occupation of the usurer would speedily come to an end.

But we are told that railroad stocks are owned as investments by a large number of poor people and often constitute the entire means of support of people who would otherwise be helpless. These are the "gnats" that the big spiders prey upon by the way of express or fast freight lines, sleeping car companies, dining car companies and other rings composed of large stockholders and high officials which absorb the lion's share of a road's earnings, and deceive the public as to the real extent of the extortion practiced upon them.

Such investors, instead of being benefited are usually in the end skinned out of the whole or a large part of their money invested.

While on the cars in the State of Iowa I was obliged to listen to the conversation of a prominent railroad man and high bank official who described in glowing terms the way the banks, including his own, by means of similar inner rings of the principal officers, organized into a loan and trust company, whose officers being also the bank officers, borrowed most of the bank's money of

themselves at a low rate of interest and re-let it to the dear public at a very high rate of interest, thus fleecing both the bank and the poor people who were stockholders, and the people that had to borrow. The bank reports showed that their rate of interest was reasonable and the dividends to ordinary stockholders did not seem large and *quid nuncs* who never see below the surface could say banks are very reasonable in their charges and cannot be, as fanatics charge, great means of oppression, but the poor people who were unmercifully skinned seldom are heard in the ordinary papers and their sufferings pass unnoticed and by the mass of men unknown.

Railroads, telegraphs and telephones are not like ordinary private property, but are in their very nature public interests. No owner of other private property can have other men's property or that which belongs to the public condemned and take it for his own use. A public highway is opened and private property taken for it on the ground that it belongs to the public at large and on no other ground, and yet land belonging to a private owner is taken for a railroad and its owner is informed that the railroad is exclusively a private road, although it may damage his property far more than the public highway that generally runs on government lines.

By private and corporate donations to build them and subsidies and land grants from government

they have cost the country one way and another probably about as much as their present value. In steals of one kind and another the public are made to pay for them over again every few years, and yet they are exclusively owned by private companies. They buy legislatures, choose governors and judges, manage parties by means of political lawyers heavily salaried for that purpose and scoff at justice.

If government is under obligation to protect the property interests of its subjects and in some cases even their lives it can not long choose but own the railroads and telegraph and telephone lines; control in any other way is impossible. As in the case of the post office, government can mete out equal and exact justice to all without which it fails entirely to perform its proper functions.

Some of the more obvious benefits of government control are:

1. Freedom from the loss and danger to the public and to the employe, of strikes.

2. Freedom from the great inconvenience and cost of transfers from one road to another.

3. Greatly lessened expense for heavily salaried officers for so many different roads. Often these salaries are far higher than the salary of any government officer except the President of the United States.

4. Exemption from the loss and trouble of roads in bankruptcy.

5. If rightly managed, freedom from the load of usury that breaks down first the roads and then their patrons.

6. Exemption from the moral corruption and material loss of stock-watering, railroad-wrecking and the deadly influence of the vast fortunes thus obtained.

7. Freedom from unjust discriminations that are fast increasing the numbers of the very rich and the very poor.

8. Freedom from the deadly example of a power in the state that is above the state and that defies its laws and tramples them under its feet.

To be free from all these the state and the citizen could afford to pay even more than the present high rates of transportation, but, in all probability would not have to pay more than half so much.

According to Poor's "Manual of Railroads" the average interest per mile of the 115,672 miles of railroad in operation in 1884 was $1,336.66, or in all, $154,614,135.52, which was more than half of the whole net gain of the roads for that year.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE TRAMP.

At the close of the great rebellion there was plenty of money and everybody was employed and happy. The times before the war had produced but very few rich men, and they had not learned to act in unison for the oppression of others. Bankers had begun their combined operations, more or less secret, to promote the interests of their calling. They began through Congress to destroy all the money they did not own and could not control, and to give to the rich, home and foreign, the people's heritage; the unoccupied lands. Land monopoly and money monopoly have rapidly produced their legitimate and invariable results—millionaires and tramps.

Before the period of great national debts, governments kept rich men from amassing great amounts of money, and the poor were kept from tramping by still having some right to the soil by means of which they could get a subsistance, even though it was often meager and inadequate to their needs. Men shut away from access to the soil are absolutely dependent upon their fellows for life itself. When employment fails they have no

alternative but to tramp. Anyone, whose memory reaches back a score of years, can well remember that the first tramps were honest laboring men seeking employment. Men driven from home and the restraints of home life, and thrown into contact with others of their class with nothing to do, could not long remain innocent; smarting under an indefinable sense of wrong done them by society, soon becoming objects of suspicion, they naturally became more or less criminal.

Tacitus says that idleness grows upon men so that what was at first forced inactivity becomes at length habit. When one's self-respect has been broken down and he has learned to live by practices not entirely innocent, which do not involve work, we ought not to be surprised that he does not wish to work; it is plain that he is not wholly to blame for his condition.

Newspapers that approve the sending of missionaries to heathen of other races, far more debased than he, have advised feeding him arsenic. Is it on the principle that men commonly hate those whom they have injured ? Wrong done to others always returns to plague the wrong doers. Find fault as we may, the terrible tramp is upon us; he has tramped out, and goes on tramping out the sense of security enjoyed by dwellers in town and country alike. He has well-nigh tramped out that beautiful hospitality once habitual with us, so that we dare not use hospitality to strangers, and so

fail of the privilege of "sometimes entertaining angels unawares," and of obeying the scripture injunction. His heavy foot-fall has well-nigh smothered out our love for men, as men, and, I fear, has seriously impaired our love for their creator. "If a man love not his brother whom he has seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" If history, as it is wont to do, repeats itself in our case, our posterity may find that the tramp has changed the whole aspect and customs of our country.

Almost everywhere in the old world the peasant tillers of the soil live, not as our farmers, scattered over the country, but in villages, and have to go long distances to their daily toil. In the lands once trod by the feet of our Saviour and His apostles, life and liberty are in constant danger from roving bands of robbers, which are probably, the organized descendants of the individual tramps forced into being by ages of injustice and misrule.

Chain gangs, prisons, even arsenic, cannot destroy the tramp; their only effect is to make him more terrible. When society becomes Christian, not nominal but real, after the pattern of the Nazarene, both the tramp and the millionaire will fade away in the advancing light of a real Christian civilization.

CHAPTER XVIII.

POVERTY, IRRELIGION, IMMORALITY, DRUNKENNESS AND CRIME.

Agur's prayer, "give me neither poverty nor riches * * * lest I be full, and deny thee, and say: Who is the Lord? Or lest I be poor and steal, and take the name of my God in vain," is one worthy a wise man.

Kellogg, a New York merchant and bank president, in "Capital and Labor," says, that two and one-half per cent. of the population own one-half of all the property in the country.

Observation, in every town, I think, will prove the statement true. These people, as a rule, are not more industrious than others, generally not more economical. Many of them have inherited large possessions, or secured some land or other monopoly, or have doubled up their hoards by usury. By unthinking persons they are pointed out as examples that all men may successfully emulate. To show the inconsequence of this logic, it is only necessary to remember that there are only two halves to any whole. If two and one-half per cent. more were as successful in getting

money as these, the other ninety-five per cent. must of necessity be paupers, or persons dependent upon these for their means of living.

In the last twenty years in this country there have been on an average annually 6096 business failures. The average liabilities of these failures per annum have been $132,759,301, or for the twenty years $2,655,186,027. For the four years before the beginning of the contraction of the currency which caused this terrible ruin and impoverishment of men, the failures in the North averaged 544, and the average annual liabilities were $20,359,000.

Each of the 112,232 failures within the last twenty years involved the ruin of a large number of men, many thousands of whom were heavy employers of labor.

By the special legislation in favor of the rich, many millions of well-to-do people have been reduced to poverty. While it is true that the drink curse is doing the same thing for vast numbers it is only one of the causes that are working out the same evil results.

Stock and grain gambling, stock watering, railroad wrecking, taking of usury, land grabbing and many other ways of appropriating what belongs to others are, in these times, common sources of poverty.

It is high time that legislation now turn in favor of the poor. As honest Ben Wade said, "The rich can take care of themselves."

Great riches and great poverty alike must be considered among the prime causes of irreligion. Whoever, then, wishes to promote the cause of true religion must seek to remove and prevent both these.

When religion does not rebuke the grinding avarice that drives the laborer seven days in the week for just enough to keep soul and body together; that robs him by stock-watering, gambling in money or the necessaries of life or any of the thousand ways used to steal away his earnings; even bestows its highest attentions and favors upon those who do these things, and refuses, or neglects, even to look into the facts of the case, it ought not to wonder that he is irreligious. When our professed Christianity humbles itself as did the Master and seeks to lift up and bless these toiling ones it will find them eagerly listening to its teachings and no longer indifferent and irreligious.

The success of the thousands of Christians that thus follow their Lord is certain proof that were all to follow their example, a brighter day would dawn upon the world.

IMMORALITY.

"*London, May 11, 1886.*—Thomas Gibney, whose name appears in the London directory under the description of 'gentleman,' was to-day arraigned in the Clerkenwell Police Court for violations of the criminal law amendments acts, resulting from

the *Pall Mall Gazette* crusade. The charges against the prisoner are of having procured since last December, for his violation, forty children under the age of consent. The girls were all the daughters of workingmen. The developments in the case have aroused intense indignation, and the authorities have had difficulty in saving the prisoner from the fury of the parents of his victims."

In a community where live the very rich and the very poor, strict morality never has existed and never can exist.

The gross immoralities revealed by the *Pall Mall Gazette* disclosures are inseparable from the state of society in which they exist. They may be covered up with a respectable exterior, but men who disregard the claims of God and the rights of men to get and hold property can not reasonably be expected to regard the rights of men or women in its enjoyment. Children accustomed to exact the utmost obedience from those whom they are taught to consider their inferiors, whose very being, in their account, seems to have no design beyond obedience to their whims and ministering to their every wish, can hardly be expected to stop at the line of morals where their passions are concerned.

All over the United Kingdom where young aristocrats or children of the very wealthy summer or winter may be found the trail of the serpent, if we may trust the accounts of onlookers to the manor born. We are told in "Bread Winners Abroad"

that unmarried women among the nailmakers of England, who have children, find it easier to live than other women. Shame on a civilization, to say nothing of religion, that has produced such a state of affairs!

Women of the peasant class from the other countries of Europe have low ideals of the moral purity that becomes their sex.

It is said that the German government winks at the moral debasement of the servant girls of the realm. German soldiers can not afford to marry. The government pays them but a small sum for their services.

Each of them takes up with a servant girl of the region where he happens to be stationed. He spends his evenings with her and she gives him his supper out of her master's cupboard.

This proves a valuable arrangement to the government as it saves a ration each day.

In slavery times in our country, the fine lady who answered to the name wife, was often constrained to acknowledge that she was only the first woman of her husband's harem, the other members of which were not as fair as herself. From what we know of the past we may safely assume, even though it has not been published in the papers, that the standard of morals is not high where the excessively poor and the very rich live in the same country.

If we are rightly informed the poor, half-famished girls employed in some of the stores and shops of our large cities are told that they must dress better, if they have to do so at the expense of virtue, or lose their places, which means distress if not starvation for themselves and, perhaps, for dependent loved ones.

DRUNKENNESS.

Drunkenness is both a cause and result of poverty. Few announcements are more common than that men were sober till they lost their property, when they began to drink and went rapidly down. This class of men furnishes a very large number of suicides.

The increase of suicides seems almost to keep even pace with the number of failures in a country. When "God makes inquisition for blood," there will be a fearful reckoning for those who have, by means condemned by His law, "turned away the needy from their right," and thus tempted them to rush headlong into the ways of the destroyer.

CRIME.

Drunkenness, however caused, is the prolific source of nearly all the crime in the world. To do away with crime we must first do away with its causes. The saloon and its feeders, the genteel bar and the wine cellar must go. Wine is a great provocative to vice, as well as crime. Familiarity

with Greek and Roman Classics ought to convince anyone that wine and even beer have always been chief causes of crime. Tacitus says that the drunkenness of the early Germans was caused by liquors rotted from wheat and barley. That this liquor made them drunk, and that the result of drinking it was often strife and murder.

Perhaps, the first thing in restoring the reign of justice to this suffering earth is forever to destroy the terrible, satanic power of rum.

With intellects sobered and hands steadied men may be able to see clearly the other foes of their peace and happiness and have strength to grapple them to the death.

Agur in his prayer recognizes the fact that poverty is one of the great sources of crime. To do away with crime it is necessary to do away with enforced and widespread poverty, such as we find everywhere to-day.

CHAPTER XIX.

WHEN IS MONEY PLENTY?

President Cleveland looks into the banks and sees vast piles of the nation's currency, and says surely these hard times cannot be for lack of money.

When the earth is parched and every plant dying for want of moisture, with just as much reason on looking into Lake Michigan, he might say all this death of vegetation cannot be for lack of moisture.

There is no lack of water but it is not where it is available to save the life of vegetation. There may be plenty of money but it is not where it is needed to pay for the products of labor or to pay wages.

In the uncertainty of the times, arising from causes that have been repeatedly explained, the merchant or employer cannot borrow it with a reasonable expectation of being able to make the interest, to say nothing of getting pay for his own labor, and so dare not imperil what property he has to help himself and others.

Just in proportion as money becomes plenty in banks and the coffers of usurers it becomes scarce in the pockets of the wealth producers, where it ought to be plenty.

It is commonly supposed that low interest on call loans is an indication that money is plenty. On the contrary there is no more certain sign that that article is scarce where it ought to be plenty and plenty where it ought to be scarce.

A careful examination of the facts will show that interest on call loans in New York reaches the lowest point as a rule when times are hardest among the people. Of course men do not lend on small interest when they can get a larger one, and money gathered into banks in times of pressure cannot be readily re-loaned except to persons in debt, so vast amounts have to lie idle, rather than suffer which, banks make loans on call, only on gilt-edged securities, at a very low rate. The greater the amount of idle money the lower the rate and the harder the times among the people.

The baleful effects of a diminishing volume of money in circulation are thus graphically described in the report of the Silver Commission, which was composed half of Republicans and half Democrats:

"Exchanges become sluggish because those who have money will not part with it for either property or service, for the obvious reason that money alone is increasing in value, while everything else is decreasing in price.

This results in the withdrawal of money from circulation, and its deposit in great hoards where it can exert no influence on prices.

Money in shrinking volume becomes the paramount object of commerce instead of the beneficent instrument. Instead of mobilizing industry, it poisons and dries up its life currents. It is the fruitful source of political and social disturbances."

In another place, referring to the effects of a shrinking volume of money in England and on the Continent in the early part of this century, they say: "Wherever and whenever the mutterings of discontent were hushed by the fear of increased standing armies, the foundations of society were honeycombed by powerful secret organizations."

Surely these are facts to be pondered well in these times.

AN OBJECT LESSON.

There is no more beautiful object in nature than a majestic oak tree with its giant trunk and stately branches smooth and free from unsightly knots. But it seems a law of nature that the most valuable objects are the most subject to, and injured by, hurtful parasites.

Let us now compare the State to such a tree, Let its trunk, firmly rooted in the ground, from which it gets its sustenance, represent the State, all of whose sustenance must come from the same source.

The main branches we will suppose to be the great channels of trade; the lesser branches

and trades, the different manufactures and the growing points and leaves the busy-fingered human toilers.

Call to mind again the facts stated by the Silver Commission, that money is the "very fiber of social organism, the vitalizing force of industry, the protoplasm of civilization and as essential to its existence as oxygen is to animal life.

Without money civilization could not have had a beginning; with a diminishing supply it must languish, and, unless relieved, finally perish."

Money has sometimes fittingly been compared to a great river, the varied barks upon whose waters are the industries of the world.

Draw off the waters of the river and you leave the helpless vessels to decay, stranded in the mud.

Let us compare it to the vital juices or sap of the tree. If it is allowed to flow freely and is not in any way obstructed, it goes on taking water, nitrogen and iron, and whatever else it needs, from the earth's storehouse, and oxygen from the air, and in the laboratory of the leaves and growing points, manufactures them into food for bark and wood and leaves, and then conveys this food to the parts where it is needed for immediate consumption to sustain the economy of the tree.

Let us now consider the effect upon the tree, of arresting the process of distribution and turning it away from the parts it was designed to nourish. Let an army of bark lice or other parasites pitch

their tents upon its branches and begin to puncture them and draw out this food prepared to sustain the tree, every owner of an orchard, or keen observer of nature, knows that the poor tree soon begins to hang out signals of distress, and if the spoilation continues, the death of the tree is only a question of time. Let us suppose that these squatter sovereigns, in addition to drawing enough of the sustenance of the tree to keep themselves reveling in luxury, begin to pile up about themselves great piles of this plunder so that they may have abundant supplies for years to come, and may hand it down to future generations of parasites, and the beautiful tree, as seen in one-half of our illustration, * will soon present the unsightly dying condition seen in the other half.

Oak apples, or as they are sometimes called, nut-galls, are occasioned by the puncture of a robber insect, and if allowed to remain on the hardy oak, kill it. You have seen a wild plant having a round ball upon its smooth, slender stalk. Above this ball, instead of the usual vigorous growth, culminating in beautiful flowers and fruits or seeds, there is a dwarfed and feeble one, without vitality enough to even blossom. The secret is contained in the ball which is the home of a robber parasite. If, after he had caused his capacious mansion to be built his spoilation had ceased, he would not have seriously interfered with the development of the plant.

* See Frontispiece.

Money used to accumulate property does no harm.

Money hoarded, whether for usury or safety, and kept out of circulation for any considerable length of time, causes certain ruin.

You will see men energetic and vigorous in their earlier years. They accumulate money by rightful business and at the same time they bless community by giving employment to others. A change comes over them. Their energy fails them. Instead of being like the growing point and leaves, always producing more sustenance for the tree to keep it green and flourishing, they are like the decayed limb around the base of which the substance of the tree is piled up in an unsightly knot. As activity ceases the limb sloughs off and only the knot remains. Such knots are rotten at heart usually, and in this particular, the frequent defalcations of bank officers show that the analogy holds.

Other usurers are like bark lice, in the earlier period of life they have activity enough to move about till they find a favorable place to suck, when they grow a shell over them, and the process of drawing blood begins.

Please note one other fact about our tree. The growing points and leaves, the busy-fingered workers through the tree, are connected with the soil. Sever this connection and they die. So men, severed from the soil, if not now, certainly in the

future, when land is all occupied and has great value, and now, in large sections of the country, must experience a living death.

There is no remedy but obedience to God's law, which strictly forbids both these practices, so hurtful to the State and ruinous to the happiness of men.

In conclusion then, let us remember that money plenty to overflowing in the government treasury and in banks, is not money plenty.

Money is never plenty until it is plenty in the hands of those for whose express benefit it was created — the producers of all wealth — laborers and their employers and those who buy and sell.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCLUSION.

God says, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice." The slave-holder that thought to atone for the wrongs done to the image of God held in hopeless bondage, by selling a baby and putting the price of blood into the contribution box to help carry the gospel to the heathen, found out his mista ke in four years of terrible bloodshed that covered up his own loved ones from his sight beneath grassy mounds scattered over his loved "Sunny South."

Let the industrial slave-holder take warning who thinks that by some great donation to a mission fund, or college treasury, or some public or private benevolent enterprise he can square the account with the Almighty. In God's account "to obey is better than sacrifice," and He hates "robbery for a burnt offering."

The cause of the laboring man will be all-powerful when he learns to trust, not in organizations, secret or open, but in the Lord Jehovah, in whom is "everlasting strength;" who "executeth judgment for all the oppressed." If he expects His favor he must cease to be himself an oppressor by dictating to his fellows when, and for how much, they shall labor.

Let him learn to discriminate between his employer, who may be the worst oppressed man in the community, and the money-lender, who is often the cause of the distress of employed and employer alike.

This may not be directly attributable to the amount of usury taken, but is more often the result of money-famine, caused by usurers hoarding the country's money and so knocking down the price and preventing the sale of products relied upon to furnish money to pay laborers.

The laborer ought also to learn to hate his worst enemies, whiskey and tobacco. They not only cause him much distress, and sickness, and poverty, but they turn away from him much sympathy of uninformed, well-meaning people, who see the great waste and ruin caused by these, and that many laboring men use them, and rashly conclude that all his woes would be assuaged and he would see no want if he would let them alone. He ought also to husband well his political power and never vote as a devotee of party, for the nominees of parties controlled by the money-power, of whom Gen. Weaver said in Congress a few days ago: "We are all of the spirit of reform when we are before the people. In our several districts we are all reformers. Ah! yes; the poor laboring man's years are full of promise, and he says, after he has listened to these lavish assurances, 'I am going to vote for him; he is a good man, and I believe in him.'

"But, Mr. Chairman, when we come into this House these things are all forgotten, and the great reformer in the district, when he gets here roars like a sucking dove. [Laughter.] Why? Because if he enforces his particular views some other member in his own party says: 'If you carry out that doctrine or pledge you cannot carry Pennsylvania, or you cannot carry New York or some other state.' Is not that true? There is no policy in either party; no purpose, nothing, I fear, but death and disintegration. Evils are rampant, but Congress is deaf and blind."

We have tried to show that, of which we are most thoroughly convinced, that, for the good of a country far the most important question is that of money. To a proper understanding of it most of us have to conquer our prejudices and unlearn the teachings of a lifetime.

It may confidently be asserted that the men who understand the horrible nature of any vice are not those who have lived lives stained and saturated by it. So the men who have practiced and prospered by the arts by which money is amassed, are not the most competent teachers of the justice and morality of such arts. Hitherto, the men who have taught the uprightness and morality of present financial conditions, are the men who, directly or indirectly, reap all the money advantage of such teachings. Is it not time that the cheated and enslaved laboring masses began to listen to

the teaching, if not of disinterested teachers, at least of those who have interests in common with themselves? You don't ask advice of the jockey of whom you are purchasing a horse, unless you wish to be cheated; why should you of party leaders whom you know to be more unreliable than horse jockeys?

If only gold and silver can be money, then the Creator has yoked the prosperity, nay, the very existence of men to one or two commodities. Has made them practically almighty; when they are plenty His creatures are well supplied with all comforts and blessings He promises to His faithful children; when they fail and diminish in quantity those comforts and blessings must dry up till men are reduced to barter and the condition of savages, in which but few people, comparatively, can live on the face of the earth, and they sunk in superstition and vice.

Our Supreme Court says it is the duty of Congress to provide a currency, and, of course, a sufficient currency, for the country. If so, the money power cannot be limited to two commodities that may entirely desert the circulation and the country, as gold and silver did England's currency during her wars with Napoleon, and as they did ours during the rebellion. If Congress has no power to pass a law changing the conditions of contracts, which we do not admit, but which is generally maintained by those taking an opposite view,

surely private individuals have no such right. As we have shown, Congress has repeatedly, at the instigation of bankers and bondholders, changed the conditions of payment, greatly to their loss, against the soldier, who saved the country, and against the tax-payer, who pays the score. We go further now, and charge that these same men have often done the same thing themselves, and in doing so have caused measureless wreck and ruin of other people's fortunes. They themselves are conscious of having the power, and even boast of it. Some three years ago, when Congress was discussing the refunding act, they said pass the three per cent. refunding bill and they would retire $200,000,000 of the currency and cause the greatest panic the country ever saw. This dreadful power of making money plenty or scarce at will has been given by a Congress made up of bankers and their attorneys, to the banks. As we have shown repeatedly, they do not scruple to use this power for their own advantage, to the very great loss of all other people, and in doing so to change the conditions of payment of every debtor in the nation; but if anybody proposes any legislation in favor of the oppressed wealth producers of the country they cry "repudiation," and plead piteously for vested rights and against the wrong of changing the terms of payment of existing contracts. Their secret is out, and the cry of "wolf! wolf!" will not scare people much longer.

John Sherman said in 1869: "The contraction of the currency is a far more distressing thing than senators suppose. * * * To every person except a capitalist out of debt, or a salaried officer or an annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy and disaster." Remember that by express act of Congress our National banks can inaugurate such a state of affairs at any moment and it is often to their interest to do so; that it is one of the chief objections against usury that it gives to a class of men proverbially heartless and selfish such power even without an act of Congress.

On the 17th of March, 1874, John A. Logan said of the panic of 1873: "But, sir, that the panic was not due to the character of the currency is proved by the history of the panic itself. * * No sir, the panic was not attributable to the character of the currency, *but to a money famine, and to nothing else!* In the the very midst of the panic we saw the leading bankers and business men of New York pressing and urging the President and the Secretary of the Treasury to let loose twenty or twenty-five millions more of the same paper for their relief. The very same men who to-day denounce it as a disgrace to our government. It was good enough when they were in trouble."

In this connection let us see further what some of our foremost men have said about another set of these same monstrous, unfeeling tyrants, whose

power to injure, great as it undoubtedly is, is less than that of the usurer.

Garfield says of the great railroad and other corporations: "Already they have captured the oldest and strongest of them (the states) and these discrowned sovereigns follow in chains the triumphal car of their conquerers. * * * The modern barons, more powerful than their military prototypes, own our greatest highways, and levy tribute at will upon all our great industries."

Hon. Wm. Windom, Secretary of the Treasury, under Garfield, said: "I repeat to-day words uttured seven years ago, that there are in this country four men who in the matter of taxation possess, and frequently exercise, powers which Congress nor any of our state legislatures would dare to exert; powers which, if exercised in Great Britain, would shake the throne to its very foundations. These men may at any time, and for any reasons satisfactory to themselves, by a stroke of the pen, reduce the value of property in the United States by hundreds of millions of dollars. They may at their own will and pleasure disarrange and embarrass business, depress one city or locality and build up another, enrich one individual and ruin his competitors, and when complaint is made coolly reply, 'What are you going to do about it?'"

One of Wall Street's great operators, Hon. Reuben Hatch, who, probably knows what he is talking about as well as any man living, speaks of Van-

derbilt, Gould, Sage and Field as the "four Kings of York." He says, "These men would be better designated as the head-centres of Communism, for while Justice Schwab only wants a fair divide, these men grab the whole pot. These men are the promoters of labor strikes and the prime cause of all the antagonism between capital and labor. * * Jay Gould's first financial stroke was when he manufactured Erie common stock out of manufactured convertible bonds, fed the street with it, and then emigrated to Jersey City with $14,000,000. Commodore Vanderbilt issued the New York Central 85 per cent. dividend, ($40,000,000), in Horace Clark's dining room. * * * Finally, when these millions of additional stock and bonds, which have been issued to themselves and placed in their own tin boxes, have caused an advance in rates of transportation and a decline in wages, they elect or buy up judges, whom they can now get cheaper than a first-class lawyer, and their highway robbery justified by courts held in their own private offices and parlors."

Judge Black says: "These corporations have, in effect, seceded from the Union and formed a government of their own, which they call, not the *Confederate States* but the *Confederate Railroads.* * * With this machinery the Confederate Railroads make, administer and execute their own laws, tax their subjects without restraint or limitation, and 'exercise in the fullest extent the supreme

authority to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States'."

If comment were necessary upon the above, both comment aud illustration may be found in the recent strike on the Gould lines in the Southwest. Surely the secret methods of the Knights of Labor, in their attempts to defend their interests, are no worse than the same methods first resorted to by money kings to oppress them.

That both are wrong, I freely grant.

That the laborer may get some present advantage by a resort to war measures, is probably true; but the bringing in of that better time when the right of him that produces all things to the best the land affords shall be freely granted, is one of the triumphs of peace which cannot be hastened by such measures, except as they are overruled by an Almighty hand, which is among the possibilities.

In the minds of many good people a resort to them prejudices the case and turns away sympathy, especially if resort to an oath is had, which is the highest act of worship, and by which men seek in vain to make God a party to the violation of His own law. Not only is this offensive to many good men but it must be displeasing to God himself, without whose favor no man can long prosper.

When men cease to sell the land contrary to God's law and to hoard their money and loan it,

which he has strictly forbidden; but when they labor with it, going into business themselves, either as open or silent partners and sharing the losses as well as the profits, losses will be few, and there will be no more strikes nor labor troubles, for all men will be able either to find employment or make it for themselves. The nation that will not do this will not obey God and will certainly be destroyed, for He has said by the mouth of His prophet Jeremiah: "But if they will not obey, I will utterly pluck up and destroy that nation, saith the Lord."

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 013 608 043 A